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SPECULUM BRITANNICUM:

O R, A

V I E W

OF THE

MISERIES AND CALAMITIES

Successively brought upon GREAT BRITAIN by

INTESTINE DIVISIONS,

In the Last and Present Centuries.

BY AN ENGLISHMAN.

L O N D O N,

Printed for G. ROBINSON, in Pater-noster Row.

MDCCLXXVIII.



46.

4.

1.

103.

Dear Madam

would you accept this poor attempt
from one who would be useful as far as he
is able ~~to~~ towards the future well being
of this happy & of countries if we could but
bring ourselves to think so I am with great
Truth

Y^r very faithful slave
Wm. Dalton

Hutton Garden
9 July 1778

Wm Dalton

INTRODUCTION.

THE person, who presents the following sheets to the public, claims no other merit than that of a compiler.

The entertainment provided for the reader, is furnished by lord Clarendon and Mr. Hume, Sir John Dalrymple and Mr. Mac Pherson.

The works of these writers are large and voluminous; they come

INTRODUCTION.

into few hands, comparatively speaking; and of those, into whose hands they do come, few take the pains to read and apply them. A succinct narrative has therefore been extracted, and is given, for the most part, in the words of the historians themselves; by which a reader of very moderate capacity may be enabled, in two or three mornings, while under the discipline of his friseur, to enter fully into the nature and genius of a PARTY-SPIRIT, its intrigues and cabals, with their effects and consequences, as they manifested themselves in this kingdom, through a
space

INTRODUCTION.

space of near fourscore years, from 1640 to 1716. And when he shall have attentively surveyed the picture, he will say to his son, if he be the father of one, " My son, fear thou the Lord and the king, and meddle not with them that are given to change."

CON-

C O N T E N T S.

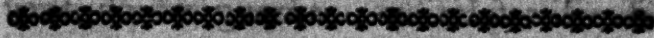
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SPECULUM BRITANNICUM.



PERIOD THE FIRST.

From 1648 to 1660.

WHEN the army in England had formed a military parliament, it was then that they became supreme. That army, having chosen a number of such officers as they liked, called them the general's council of officers, who were to resemble the house of peers; and the common soldiers, having chosen three or four out of each regiment, most of them being corporals or serjeants, and few or none above the degree of an ensign, called them agitators, who were to be as a house of commons. These two representatives met severally, and considered of all the acts and orders made by the long parliament towards the settling the kingdom, and towards reform-

1 Clar. 4.
2 Hume
39.
The army
form a
military
parlia-
ment.

B

ing,

ing, dividing, or disbanding of the army. They, at their first meeting, drew up several resolutions; among which they resolved, that there was a greater persecution now against religious and godly men, than ever had been in the king's government, when the bishops were their judges.

3 Clar. 47.
7 Hume,
90.
Joyce with
a squadron
of horse
seizes the
king at
Holmby.

On the 3d of June, early in the morning cornet Joyce, one of the said agitators, came with a squadron of fifty horse to Holmby, where the king was; and, without any interruption by the guards, whose affections were all on the same side, Joyce with two or three more importunately got the king's chamber door open as he rose from his bed, and entered with their hats off and pistols in their hands. They told the king he must go with them to the army; and being asked by what authority, Joyce answered, by *this*, shewing his pistol. The king, finding no relief, submitted, and was brought safely to the army the second day; the king apprehended all the way, with reason,

that their purpose was to carry him to some place where they might more conveniently murder him. The parliament had their alarming fears too, in regard to their power, the possession of the king being thus forced from them, and the army approaching with him towards London. The truth was, that soon after the army became masters of the parliament, they were grown weary of having the king with them, and knew not well how to be rid of him; there were many secret consultations what to do with him: it was generally concluded, they should never be able to settle their new form of government whilst he lived; and therefore they came to a resolution of bringing him to a public trial for the several things he had been charged with, the amount of which was, that he had *traiterously* levied war against the parliament, and people therein represented; and that, after his defeat, he had caused many insur-

B 2

rections,

3Clar. 251.
The army
resolve to
try the
king.

1648. rections, and given a *commission* to his son to raise a new war against the parliament, and should therefore be impeached for the treasons and crimes committed in consequence thereof.

7 Hume,
114. 1648.
They
make the
parlia-
ment a-
dopt it.

This measure being secretly resolved on, it was requisite, by degrees, to make the parliament adopt it, and to conduct them from violence to violence, till this last act of atrocious iniquity should seem in a manner wholly inevitable.

137

The house of commons therefore shared with the army in the reproach of such a measure, which was thought requisite for the advancement of their common ends of safety, and ambition; and therefore passed a vote declaring it treason in a king to levy war against his parliament, and appointing *a high court of justice* to try his majesty for this new invented treason. The house of peers rejected this vote, whereupon the commons declared, that the commons of England assembled in parliament, have the supreme authority

rity of the nation, without the consent of the king or house of peers. The ordinance for the trial of Charles Stuart, king of England, so they called him, was again read, and unanimously assented to.

The court accordingly sat in Westminster Hall where the king was made to appear. His behaviour during this last period of his life, does great honour to his memory; he never forgot his part either as a prince or a man. Firm and intrepid, he maintained, in each reply, the utmost perspicuity and justness both of thought and expression. Mild and equable, he rose into no passion at that unusual authority, which was assumed over him. Three times was Charles produced before the court, and as often declined their jurisdiction. On the fourth, the judges, having examined some witnesses, by whom it was proved, that the king had appeared in arms against the forces commissioned by the parliament, pronounced sentence against him, and three

1648.

144.
The king's
trial,

7 Hume,
143.

1648.
and death
as a traitor.
Dalr. 18.

days after, what is scarce credible to believe, he suffered death as a *traytor*.

The ancient nobility, in their struggles with their sovereigns, had stopped when they had deposed them, but the republican and puritanic commons, with a more democratical spirit, brought their sovereign under the forms of justice, like a common member of the community, to a public trial, and a public execution. And, with the same levelling hand, they laid the peerage, the church, the parliament, and the law itself in the dust.

7 Hume,
162.

By the destruction of monarchy, the bands of society were every where loosened; and the irregular passions of men were encouraged by speculative principles, still more unsocial and irregular.

The king
at his ac-
cession,
became
possessed of
high pre-
rogatives,
and of
longusage.

Charles the first became possessed of his crown at a time its prerogatives, by usage for more than a century past, had enabled him to suspend the laws. He therefore could not be charged with breaking those laws, which he reasonably judged he had a power to suspend.

It

It was pretended, in the beginning of the troubles, that grievances were the food of faction, and if they were removed it would starve and die. Unhappily for Charles he did remove them, and gave up to his subjects those powers and prerogatives, though at a crisis perhaps contrary to their true interests, by which he was first disabled from preserving himself, and then brought to the block. I presume, from this to think he ought to be acquitted from all tyrannical designs to oppress his subjects, and, however strange and incompatible his notions of arbitrary power may at this season appear, if compared with our present happy establishment, they certainly were consistent with his justice, and the long usage of those times. They therefore ought not to be imputed to any new exertions in him, but in support of the then establishment, and to prevent attempts, which appeared to him new, and of dangerous tendency.

1648.
 71 Rapin,
 585.
 Rapin's
 character
 of the
 king.

His character by Rapin (who surely was no favourable historian for monarchy) concludes, that " Charles the
 " first was indued with a great many
 " virtues and noble qualities. And that
 " there is room to believe his failings
 " flowed entirely from the design he
 " had formed of enslaving England;
 " and that if, on some occasions, he followed not exactly the rules of sincerity, it was only in order to be the
 " better able to execute what he had
 " undertaken. Had it not been for this
 " unfortunate project, he might be said to
 " be one of the most accomplished princes
 " that had ever sat on the English throne."

Dal. 7.
 Early
 cause
 given for
 disputes.

The want of treasure created the first grounds of jealousy between Charles and his commons, relative to the tonnage and poundage in the commencement of his reign, which, when granted, with all other national expences, did not exceed 700,000l.; whereas Cromwell, with a rougher hand, levied two millions

millions yearly. The want of arms, which the long parliament wrested from Charles, began the civil war, whereby Cromwell with 50,000 soldiers kept in awe the most turbulent of nations, in the most turbulent of periods.

Tonnage and poundage had been conferred on Henry V. and all the succeeding princes during life; and which each king had ever claimed from the moment of his accession; and the first parliament, of each reign, had ever by vote conferred on the prince what they found him in possession of: and yet this was made the first cause of all the future disturbances of this reign.

6Hume,
205.
Tonnage
and
poundage
made the
first cause
of all the
future
disturb-
ances.

If the king, while he possessed these and others of his prerogatives entire, had steadily designed to have enslaved the nation, as is charged by Rapin, what could have prevented him, (armed with all his powers and prerogatives, and qualified, as he was, while he followed his own judgment) from so doing? He had all

The king
had no
design to
enslave,
but to pre-
vent ill
designs a-
gainst the
government.

the

the same powers and prerogatives which his predecessors (Henry VIII. and Elizabeth) had enjoyed with success; and he shewed himself able and intrepid, when he was afterwards called forth, notwithstanding he had then given up all his powers and resources to his ungrateful subjects. His dispensing power was in use from the earliest account of time; and in 1539 it was enacted, that the same obedience should be paid to the king's proclamations, as to acts of parliament; his ecclesiastical commission commenced in 1536, when lord Cromwell was vicar-general; and the high-commission court was erected for that purpose by parliament in 1559. His star-chamber court was founded on common law, and extended to the decision of private causes, so long since as the reign of Edward III. and was confirmed by parliament in 1488: his court of wards and liveries was part of the English feudal law, and ordained by William the

Com-
mence-
ment of
his prero-
gatives,
which he
afterwards
gave up.

the Conqueror, and was regulated by 1643.

statute 27 Hen. VIII. 1536; The first

commission of array was issued in 1415,

when the military part of the feudal

system, which was the most essential cir-

cumstance of it, was entirely dissolved;

and could no longer serve for the de-

fence of the kingdom. All these he

gave up in parliament, instead of per-

sisting in his right to them, which he

might have done, and perhaps should

have done at such a crisis. "He

" had an excellent understanding," says

lord Clarendon, " but was not confi-

" dent enough of it, which made him

" oftentimes change his own opinion

" for a worse, and follow the advice of

" men that did not judge so well as

" himself. This made him more irreso-

" lute than the conjuncture of his affairs

" would admit: if he had been of a

" rougher and more imperious nature,

" he would have found more respect and

" duty. And his not applying some se-

" vere

3 Clar. 257.
The king's
character
by lord
Clarendon

1648. " vere cures to approaching evils, pro-
 " ceeded from the lenity of his nature,
 " and the tenderness of his conscience."

2 Carte's
 Qrm.
 355.

Had the king immediately succeeded queen Elizabeth, his reign had been more happy to the nation, and more easy to himself, than it proved in the event. He was not fit to struggle with the difficulties in which his father left him involved.

2 Carte's
 Qrm.
 12.

Cromwell declared, more than once to lord Orrery, that if the king had followed his own judgment, and had been attended by none but trusty servants, he had fooled them all.

If lord Clarendon's character of the king may be believed, it is almost impossible the king could have so bad a design as Rapin has laid to his charge; for his lordship sums up the other parts of the king's character as follows, and in which even his enemies seemed to agree.

3 Clar. 256.

" The king was (if ever any) the
 " most worthy of the title of an honest
 " man; so great a lover of justice, that
 " no

" no temptation could dispose him to 1642.
 " a wrong action; except it was so dis-
 " guised to him that he believed it to
 " be just. He had a tenderness and
 " compassion of nature, which restrained
 " him from ever doing a hard-hearted
 " thing. He was very punctual and
 " regular in his devotions; and though
 " he was well pleased, and delighted
 " with reading verses made upon any
 " occasion, no man durst bring before
 " him any thing that was prophane or
 " unclean; that kind of wit had never
 " any countenance then. He was so
 " great an example of conjugal affection,
 " that they who did not imitate him in
 " that particular, durst not brag of their
 " liberty. He was not in his nature
 " very bountiful, though he gave very
 " much. He kept state to the full, which
 " made his court very orderly; he saw
 " and observed men long, before he re-
 " ceived them about his person; and
 " did not love strangers, nor very con-
 " fident

1648. “ fident men. He was a patient hearer
 “ of causes, and judged very well; and
 “ was dextrous in the mediating part;
 “ so that he often put an end to causes
 “ by persuasion, which the stubbornness
 “ of men’s humours made dilatory in
 “ courts of justice. He was very fear-
 “ less in his person, but, in his riper
 “ years, not very enterprizing. As he
 “ excelled in all other virtues, so in tem-
 “ perance he was so strict, that he ab-
 “ horred all debauchery to a remarkable
 “ degree. He was the worthiest gentle-
 “ man, the best master, the best friend,
 “ the best husband, the best father,
 “ and the best christian that the age in
 “ which he lived produced; and if he
 “ were not the greatest king, if he were
 “ without some parts and qualities which
 “ have made some kings great and happy,
 “ no other prince was ever unhappy who
 “ was possessed of half his virtues and
 “ endowments, and so much without
 “ any kind of vice.”

The

The imputation of insincerity seems, says Hume, of a later growth than the age of Charles, all his contemporaries for or against him as to this particular were silent, except Ludlow, who was a passionate writer. I refer to Hume's note as to this article, it being too long for this place, and seems fully to acquit him. Hume avows, that probity and honour ought justly to be numbered among his most shining qualities, and had he been born an absolute prince in a regular established government, his humanity and good sense had rendered his reign happy and his memory precious.

1648.
7 Hume,
153.

7 Hume,
151.

Martin, a zealous republican in the house of commons, in the debate on the question with regard to monarchy, confessed, that if they desired a king, the last was as proper as any gentleman in England.

1574

Voltaire charges the king's misfortunes to our perfidious neighbours, the French, through the revengeful disposition of cardinal Richelieu; who, in a letter

Voltaire, 248.
Voltaire's
cause of
the king's
misfor-
tunes.

1648.

letter to the count D'Estrades, used these remarkable words :

“ The king and queen of England shall
 “ repent their having neglected my offers
 “ before a year is past; and shall quickly
 “ find that I am not to be despised.”

The effects were attributed to an Irish priest, who was one of the cardinal's secretaries, and was sent by him to London and Edinburgh, to sow those dissensions, which so soon after broke out.

Dalr. 16.
 Dalrym-
 ple's cause.

When James the first ordered twelve chairs to be placed for a deputation from the house of commons, it was, he said, because twelve kings were at hand; he saw the tempest which was approaching. The house of commons assumed to themselves powers and privileges unknown to their ancestors.

2 Clar. 217.
 Lord Cla-
 rendon's
 cause.

In the commencement of king Charles's reign, it was designed to place the ablest heads of the opposing party amongst the great officers, but which was only executed in part; and lord Clarendon
 seems

seems to be of opinion, that, if the design had wholly taken place, those able men would have assisted the king after they had been thoroughly engaged. However that may have been, Oliver St. John was unhappily chose from among them, and made solicitor-general. He was so well qualified for the place, at that time, by his fast and rooted malignity against the government, that he lost no credit with his party, out of any apprehension, or jealousy, that he would change his side; and he made good their confidence; not in the least degree abating his malignant spirit, or dissembling it; but, with the same obstinacy, opposed every thing which might advance the king's service when he was his solicitor, as ever he had done before. 1648.

So many miraculous circumstances contributed to the king's ruin, says Clarendon, that men might well think that heaven and earth had conspired it. He was so much betrayed by his own
C servants, 3Clar. 258.

1648.

servants, that he had none left about him, in any immediate trust in business, who, either did not betray him, or sink under the weight or reproach of it. It may therefore be presumed, that, if the king had been more steady to his own good judgment, they would not have deserted or betrayed him; and his sincerity would not, in these days, have been called in question; but, on the contrary, his actions, such as Clarendon has described them to be, would, in all probability, have proved a great blessing to this nation.

A civil war, with all its concomitants, too soon followed the doctrines of ungoverned liberty, and licentiousness; and changed that government, which was in the hands of a king of excellent dispositions, for the most enthusiastic and detestable of all commonwealths, a government by a multitude of preaching military tyrants, capable and resolved to act in every

every thing that was most destructive to 1642.
this devoted country.

Great as the struggles and commotions were before 1640, their proceedings were not become quite so bare-faced till then; but in 1640 the commons voted against the bishops sitting in parliament, and that the canons passed in the convocation were illegal. And in 1641 they countenanced mobs to surround the houses of parliament to promote those purposes, and voted the abolition of all deans and chapters, &c. They altered the Common Prayer Book without any application to, or obtaining leave from the king, or consent from the lords. They permitted their mob to cry out no bishops, &c. and sent orders to seize Hull from the king, and sent also spies to watch the king's actions in Scotland.

Curfory
review be-
fore 1643.

In May 1642 they voted that the king intended making war against them, and they raised money in June for their defence.

1648. On the 8th of August they declared those who should assist the king *traitors*.

On the 22d of the same month the king set up his standard at Nottingham.

The dignified name of parliament from henceforth was misapplied, and in a few years after ceased to exist; the rotten branch of it was termed, by way of reproach, the rump parliament, and was suffered to exist no longer than was thought convenient to a new set of tyrants, who at different times governed the army.

3 Clar. 43.
7 Hume 89.
The military parliament in opposition to the house of commons.

An inconsiderable part of the house of commons had the name of authority, but the military council of state, in number thirty-eight, took the lead. They gave orders to all generals and admirals, executed the laws, and digested all business before it was introduced into parliament. This council and that of the agitators, which together formed the military parliament, found no distempers but

but many grievances in the army which required redress.

During the war the discretionary power of this military court was excused from the plea of necessity; but the nation was reduced to despair, when it saw neither end put to their duration, nor bounds to their authority. These could sequester, fine, imprison, and corporally punish, without law or remedy. They interposed in questions of private property. Under colour of malignancy, they exercised vengeance against their private enemies. To the obnoxious, and sometimes to the innocent, they sold their protection; and instead of one star-chamber, which had been abolished, a great number were anew erected, fortified with better pretences, and armed with more unlimited authority.

After the death of the king, a vote of the commons past against the office of kingship, and an oath taken, called the engagement, which was to the govern-

1649.
7 Hume,
96.
Reflec-
tions.

Govern-
ment
without
king or
peers.

1650. ment then ordained, without king or house of peers.

7 Hume,
190.
Charles
the 1st's
humiliat-
ing situa-
tion in
Scotland.

In Scotland, after the insulting and ignominious execution of the marquis of Montrose for a fruitless attempt in favour of monarchy, came thither king Charles the second, a mere pageant of state, at the mercy of the covenanters, having no assurances from them of liberty or life. He was, in a manner, necessitated to embrace such a measure, which his youth and inexperience could only excuse. When called into the field between Edinburgh and Leith, to which places Cromwell was advancing, he gained so much the affections of the soldiers, that the covenanters were alarmed, and *ordered* him to leave the camp; they also dismissed about 4000 men out of the army, stiling them maligners and engagers because of their zeal to the king. By this, and their enthusiastic visions, Cromwell beat them at Dunbar with great slaughter,

ter, and took possession of Edinburgh and
Leith.

1650.

His success followed Cromwell to Worcester; where, with an army of 40,000 men, he soon broke in upon the king's little army, which were reduced and harassed by his expeditious march out of Scotland. The king, after shewing many proofs of personal valour, was obliged to fly, and escaped in a wonderful manner to Fescamp in Normandy.

Fight at
Worcester
and the
king's e-
scape.

Monck being left in Scotland, and Ireton in Ireland, they were both entirely subjected to Cromwell.

1651.
Scotland
and Ire-
land sub-
jected.

The zealous republicans in parliament having set up the fleet in opposition to the army, which had been done on all seasonable occasions; Cromwell, in April of this year, by his council of officers, turned the members out of the house, and dissolved the parliament; upon which Hume observes, that, by recent, as well as by all ancient example, it was become evident, that illegal violence, with whatever

1653.
7 Hume,
224.

The army
dissolve
the house
of com-
mons.

1653: pretences it may be covered, and whatever object it may pursue, must inevitably end at last in the arbitrary and despotic government of a single person.

7 Hume,
235.
Praise God
Bare-
bone's
parlia-
ment.

In July following, Cromwell, without further ceremony than supposing, that God, in his providence, had thrown the whole right, as well as power, of government into his hands, by the advice of his council of officers, sent summons to one hundred and twenty-eight persons of different towns and counties in England, and to five of Scotland, and six of Ireland; and, by his sole act and deed, devolved upon them the whole authority of the state. This legislative power they were to exercise during fifteen months, and were afterwards to chuse the same number of persons, who might succeed them in that high and important office. This was called Barebone's parliament, from the speaker, whose name was Praise God Barebone.

It consisted of a pack of senseless fellows, selected from the very dregs of the fanatics, and fit only to bring the name of parliament into further discredit; who, having confounded themselves, as well as every body else, on the 12th of December following resigned back to Cromwell, by a formal deed, the authority they had received from him.

1653.
Resign
their power.

Cromwell had before, by the assistance of his levellers, seized the king, and destroyed the monarchy; and having no further use of them, he had discontinued their meetings. He now, by the assistance of his council of officers, obtained the protectorship for life, and was, with great solemnity, installed by them, in that high office, without a parliament.

7 Hume,
239.
Cromwell
obtains
the pro-
tectorship
from the
army.

As protector, he was declared the chief magistrate, and had all the kingly prerogatives. He was to call a parliament once in three years to sit six months without adjournment, prorogation, or dis-

The pro-
tector's
duty.

1653. dissolution. His power was jointly with the parliament whilst it was sitting, and with the council of state in the intervals. The council of state were not to exceed twenty-one, nor be less than thirteen, who, with the protector, enacted this regulation.

1654.
7 Hume,
246.
Another
parlia-
ment
meets and
is soon
dissolved.

A new parliament, which he framed this year, created a doubt, whether he seriously meant to establish an absolute monarchy, or a republic. He deprived of their right of electing, all the small boroughs, as most exposed to influence and corruption; the lower populace too, so easily guided or deceived, were excluded from the election; and it was requisite to have an estate of 200l. value to be entitled to vote. This image of popular government met the 3d of September in this year, and was no longer upheld, than while it was conformable to his arbitrary will and pleasure; his imperious character, which had betrayed itself in so many incidents, would never seriously

seriously submit to legal limitations. Accordingly, as soon as he found the refractory spirit of the parliament, which broke out at their first meeting; he sent for them, and after two angry speeches at different times, he dissolved them on the 22d of January 1655.

1654.

A conspiracy was formed by the royalists, which broke out this year into action, but was soon quelled; and Penruddock and others were taken, and either executed, or sold for slaves, and transported to Barbadoes.

1655.
7 Hume,
250.
Insurrection of the
royalists.

In the army was laid the sole basis of the protector's power, and in managing them consisted the chief art and delicacy of his government.

1656.
267.

A new parliament was elected, as the year before, but such only were permitted to enter the house, as produced a warrant from his council, that they had recognized the protector's government.

276.
A new parliament, whose members are suffered to enter the house conditionally.

One step higher, viz. into the throne, was wanting to Cromwell, and in order

3 Clar. 594.
Cromwell disappointed of the crown.

1656. to pave his way to this advancement, he sacrificed his major-generals, whom he knew to be extremely odious to the nation, and that the measure became necessary for his own security.

1657. His new parliament voted an offer of the crown to Cromwell, which he took time to consider of. He found the opposition from the same quarter still too formidable, and at length refused it; not only from the fear of them, but of his own family, who advised him against it.

3Clar. 595.
7 Hume,
283.
The protectorship
perpetuated with
power to
name a
successor:

An humble petition and advice was hereupon framed by his parliament; wherein they confirmed his protectorship, and a perpetual revenue was assigned him, and a million a year for the fleet and army, and 300,000*l.* for the civil government. He had also authority given him to name his successor, and to name another house, who were to enjoy their seats for life, and to exercise same functions of the former house of peers.

His

His parliament was again assembled in two houses. His house of peers consisted of sixty members, many of whom with dissatisfaction returned to the house of commons, and formed a majority there against him; who dreading combinations between them and the malcontents in the army; he allowed them no leisure for their forming any conspiracy against him, but, with great expressions of anger and displeasure, he dissolved the parliament.

1653.
7 Hume,
285.
Parliament
meet in
two houses
and act
against
him.

Are dissolved.

Notwithstanding this success, his situation kept him in perpetual uneasiness: no hopes remained, after this violent breach with parliament, to establish, with general consent, a legal settlement; or temper the military with the mixture of any civil authority.

Cromwell
uneasy.

The conspiracy of the millinarians and the discarded officers and others, who were alike stimulated by revenge, ambition, and conscience, harboured in their minds some desperate project, and struck

289.
3 Clar. 646

1658.
7 H. 292.
Fears assassination.

struck Cromwell with still greater apprehensions; so that at length he became difficult of access, and never moved a step without a strong guard attending him. It was not known when he intended going to Hampton-Court, till he was in his coach hemmed in by his guards before and behind, and those in the coach with him armed. He seldom returned the way he went, and rarely lodged three nights together in the same bed, to which his own key conveyed him and those he took with him, nor did he intrust himself in any, which was not provided with back doors, at which sentinels were carefully placed; all which made his fears the more taken notice of.

Cromwell dies.

In this state of desperation, and in a fever, died Oliver Cromwell, on the 3d of September in this year; an eminent personage, and of a superior genius in many respects; but unequal and irregular in his operations, according to Mr. Hume; and

and a brave wicked man, according to
lord Clarendon.

1659.

Richard, his eldest son, was acknow-
ledged his successor in the protectorship,
and he called a parliament as such; but
being too easily intimidated by the ar-
my, they prevailed upon him to dissolve
his parliament. His reign concluded
with it, and he readily signed its dismissal
within a few months after the death of
his father.

3 Clar. 659.
His son
Richard
succeeds.

And re-
signs.

The council of officers now became
supreme again, and to preserve the sha-
dow of a civil administration, desired
the long parliament, now reduced to
about forty, to resume their seats; which
they did, and chose a council, wherein
they took care that the council of of-
ficers should not make a majority;
and voted other matters, which gave
great disgust to the general officers.

1659.
7 Hume,
306.
The army
become
supreme
again, and
admit the
long par-
liament.

A rising at this time of the royalists,
at the instigation of Mordaunt, discon-
certed the council for a while; but, be-

308.
Mor-
daunt's
conspiracy
suppressed.

ing

1659.

ing discovered, the army were too quick, and suppressed them ; and Lambert, their general, who had kept the power out of the hands of the parliament, a few months after expelled them again, and invested the sovereign authority in a committee of safety under his own direction ; and spoke every where of summoning another parliament, but his real designs were to assemble a military

7 Hume,
311.
The army
expel the
parlia-
ment a-
gain, and
appoint a
committee
of safety.

312.

one ; so that, throughout the three kingdoms, there prevailed nothing but the melancholy fears, to the nobility and gentry, of a bloody massacre and extermination ; to the rest of the people, of perpetual servitude, beneath those sanctified robbers, whose union, and whose divisions would be equally destructive, and who, under pretence of superior illuminations, would soon extirpate, if possible, all private morality, as they had already, all public law and justice from the British dominions.

The

The perpetrators of the various scenes of this despotic misery appear so despicable, as scarce to be credited, from an instance of the anabaptist's, address to king Charles the II^d, in the year 1657, being three years before he was restored.

1659.
2Clar.625.
Anabap-
tists peti-
tion to
king
Charles II.
before his
restora-
tion.

This address is to be seen at large in 2d Clar. p. 625, in the perplexed stile of Enthusiasts, setting forth their propositions therewith.

They acknowledge in the address, that king Charles the first was a gentleman of the most strong and perfect intellects, and of the best and purest morals of any prince that ever swayed the English scepter. And they consider, within themselves, what crimes and unheard-of villainies they have been led, cheated, and betrayed into, by that grand impostor, &c. the protector. They confess they had trampled under foot all authorities, had laid violent hands on their sovereign, ravished their parliament, deflowered the

D

virgin

1659. virgin liberty of their nation, put a heavy yoke of iron on their countrymen, thrown down the bulwarks of the people's safety, broke their vows, betrayed their trusts, and violated their faith; and they supplicate for mercy, and offer their lives to restore him on the terms the late king agreed to at the treaty in the Isle of Wight.

This extremity brought upon this nation a true sense of its condition; and enlightened the understanding of many individuals towards the restoration.

1660.
7 Hume,
317.
Monk -
protests a-
gainst the
violence of
the army.

General Monck, who was with the army in Scotland, and had protested against the violence of expelling the parliament, was suspected of having deep designs, either in the king's favour or his own, and could not be prevailed upon to join with Lambert, but on the contrary, at a fit time he declared for the parliament.

From Scot-
land he
moves to-
wards
London.

He brought his army to London, and in his way seemed to pay attention to the

the inclinations of the people, who in general declared for a free parliament, in order to settle the nation; with such reasons he prevailed with the parliament to call in their secluded members, and to fix a time for their dissolution; all which were done accordingly, and orders given for the immediate assembling of the new parliament, and a council of state was established during the interval.

1660.

The new parliament, through the power and influence of Monck, restored king Charles the second, on which Clarendon concludes his history with this remark.

And restores
Charles
the 2^d.

“ It was but five months, since Lambert’s fanatical army was scattered and
“ confounded, and general Monck marched into England: it was but three
“ months since the secluded members
“ were restored; and shortly after, the
“ monstrous long parliament finally dissolved and rooted up: it was but a

3 Clar. 772.
Clarendon’s remarks.

1660. " month since the king's letters and
 " declaration were delivered to the new
 " parliament ; afterwards called the
 " convention : on the 1st day of May they
 " were delivered, and his majesty was
 " at Whitehall on the 29th of the same
 " month."

7 Hume,
 339.
 Reflec-
 tions.

The violence of the English parties at this æra exceeded any thing which we can now imagine : had they continued but a little longer, there was just reason to dread all the horrors of the ancient massacres and proscriptions. The military usurpers, whose authority was founded on palpable injustice, and was supported by no national party ; would have been impelled by rage and despair into their most sanguinary measures ; and if these furious expedients had been embraced on one side, revenge would naturally have pushed the other party, after a return of power, to retaliate upon their enemies. No social intercourse was maintained between the parties ; nor marriages

or

or alliances were contracted. All recreations were in a manner suspended by the rigid severity of the presbyterians and independents; and hypocrisy prevailed beyond any example in ancient or modern times.

In this critical moment was the restoration so wonderfully and seasonably brought to effect; and for a while seemed to bury in oblivion all past misfortunes: but the party dissensions being only suspended, they too soon broke out with redoubled vigour, and were fatal in their consequences.

1660.

PERIOD THE SECOND.

From 1660 to 1688.

Dalr. 27.
Charles II.
becomes
popular to
an ex-
treme.

CHARLES the second being restored, as in the preceding section, his popularity grew extreme. When the army was disbanded, he assigned the reason to be, "That the best guards which could surround a king of England, were the affections of his people." To the presbyterian clergy, who waited upon him in a body, Charles said, "I will make you as happy as I am myself." To his parliament, "I will as soon burn magna charta, as forget the act of oblivion." When he heard any member was discontented, he was used to say, "What have I done to deserve this gentleman's dislike? I wish he and I were acquainted, that I might give him satisfaction." In excuse to the commons for seeking money, he

he said, He could afford to keep no table except that at which he himself sat; and it troubled him to see so many of them come to wait upon him at Whitehall, and go away without their dinners; and added, he was ashamed not to have it in his power to provide for those cavaliers, who had been ruined for his father.

1660.

To actions and words, so engaging, his two first parliaments, during the first five years of his reign, made every return that could be expected. They voted him a revenue of 1,200,000 pounds a year; a provision, which, though found afterwards inadequate to the expences of government, was the greatest which any parliament had ever made for any king of England. Yet, amidst these promising appearances, there lurked the fruits of past dissensions and the seeds of future ones. The spirit of liberty, which had been awed by the sense of danger, or had appeared to be smothered in the re-

Revival of parties.

1660. joicings of the public, gathered force in seeret from its interruption.

7 Hume,
371.
Venner's
insurrec-
tion.

Within the first year Venner, and other millinarians his followers, to the number of sixty, inflamed with his lectures, issued forth into the streets of London completely armed, and proclaimed king Jesus. They committed great disorders for two days, till a detachment of the guards surrounded them in a house, which they were resolute to defend to the last extremity. The few that survived (who had refused quarter) were tried, condemned, and executed; persisting to the last that, if they were deceived, it was the Lord that had deceived them.

27.

28.

1662.
1 Macph.
59.
Another
conspira-
cy of the
fifth mo-
narchy
men.

Another conspiracy was discovered this year, which had been in agitation from the time of the Restoration. It seemed an ill designed plan of a few wild enthusiasts, who had neither the abilities to give success to the enterprize, nor the prudence to foresee its dangers; their

their measures were soon broken, and several taken, condemned, and executed.

After the insurrection of Vennaer and the fifth monarchy men, it was proposed that a number of standing forces should be continued, to preserve the king's person, and quell any sudden tumults; but the ill effects of this being too apparent, the chancellor influenced the king to lay aside any such design.

In 1664 the first Dutch war commenced, as did that with France and Denmark the year following. Charles the II. had a natural aversion to the manners as well as the government of the Dutch; and his duplicity with them and France created those wars which endangered both England and Holland; and the large sums, and a new mistress, both which were sent him from France, to supply his necessities, discredited him with his subjects: a variety of events passed, which alarmed the fears and jealousies of the nation.

The

1664.

Clar. appen
pendix 300

1664.
1665.
Dain. 18.
7 Home.
412.
First
Dutch war
and rup-
ture with
France
and Den-
mark.

1665.
Dair. 24.
The sectarists unite, the royalists do not.
The king grows dissipated.

The republicans and sectarists united, but the royalists did not; the disbanded army was dissatisfied; and the king grew jealous and dissipated. It was proposed in the commons to impeach some of his mistresses; but old lord Mordaunt said, "They ought rather to erect statues to the ladies, who made their lover dependent upon parliament for his subsistence."

The plague and fire of London.

1666.

The plague committed terrible ravages in London in 1665, insomuch that 100,000 persons died of it in less than a year; and in 1666 the fire of London followed it; and plots, conspiracies, and treasons became the terror and disgrace of this suspicious reign. With this disposition in the minds of men, war, fire, and pestilence, the three worst scourges of human life, having been united at the conclusion of the first Dutch war, by inspiring melancholy, affected the tempers of the people of England.

The

The negotiations at Breda towards a peace were designedly protracted by De Wit; during which time he was hastening his naval preparations for a blow, which he had meditated for restoring to the Dutch the honour they had lost during the war.

1667.
7 Hume,
429.

Charles, unfortunately at the same time, had resolved to save, as far as was possible, the last supply given him of 1,800,000*l.* to pay his debts; and therefore had rashly remitted his preparations, and exposed England to one of the greatest affronts which it had ever received.

Peace pro-
tracted by
De Wit.

The Dutch fleet, under De Ruyter, came up the Thames, and took Sheerness. They burnt three ships, and damaged others. They proceeded to Upnor castle, where they burnt three more.

Dutch ex-
pedition
up the
Thames.

They afterwards made fruitless attempts on Portsmouth and Plymouth, and insulted Harwich. They sailed again up the Thames as far as Tilbury, where they were repulsed. Had the French thought

1667.

thought proper, at this time, to join the Dutch fleet and invade England, consequences, the most, fatal might justly have been apprehended.

1 Macph.

97.
Distress of
the nation
after the
first Dutch
war.

The national happiness, which began with the Restoration, such as it was, seems to have terminated with the first Dutch war. The carelessness of the king, the distress brought upon the crown, by extravagance, the disgrace thrown upon the kingdom, by the want of a proper protection from government; raised the jealousy of the people, and, in some degree, provoked their resentment; but the peace of Breda extricated the king from the difficulties he had brought on himself by his avarice and imprudence.

1670.
7 Hume,
468.
The cabal.

In this year commenced the cabal, consisting of five persons, the initials of whose names formed the word. By the cabal the king's council became remarkably bad; breeding incurable jealousies in all men, followed by such consequences

quences as had almost terminated in the ruin both of prince and people. Happily the king's negligence, which always attended him, diminished the effect of the bad measures which he embraced.

Unaccountable terrors of popery, ever since the accession of the house of Stuart, had prevailed throughout the nation; but these had formerly been found so groundless, and had been employed to so many bad purposes, that surmises of this nature were likely to meet with the less credit from all men of sense; and nothing but the duke's bigotry could have convinced the whole nation of his conversion. Popery, which had hitherto been only a hideous spectre, was now become a real ground of terror, being openly and zealously embraced by the heir apparent to the crown, a prince of industry and enterprize; while the king himself was not entirely free from the like suspicions.

1670.

ed. hage
confident
saints

1671.

483.
The
duke's
conversion pro-
fessed.

1671.
Encour-
aged by
the French
alliance.

The new alliance with France might inspire the duke with courage to make open profession of his religion, and be more careless of the affections and esteem of the English.

1673.
7 Hume,
486.
Charles
shuts up
the Ex-
chequer.

Charles, who had received a large supply from the commons, under pretence of maintaining the triple league, which he had resolved to break, had treated with France for a war against Holland. The king of France had stipulated to pay him 240,000*l.* the first year of the war, and a third of that sum every year during the course of it. But all these supplies being very inconsiderable, compared to his wants, he gave Clifford the staff of treasurer, for the expedient of shutting up the exchequer, which occasioned a general confusion in the city, followed by the ruin of many.

This brought the king 1,400,000*l.* more, which had been advanced by the goldsmiths at eight per cent. upon the faith

faith of the money bills. Charles was not by nature unjust, but he abhorred pecuniary distress, and sacrificed principle to procure ease.

The second Dutch war was begun the 17th of March in this year, with an attack made on their Smyrna fleet; but the rapid and unexpected progress of the French army soon gave Charles a new uneasiness. He saw that, if Holland should be entirely conquered, its whole commerce and naval force must become an accession to France; and that the Spanish Low Countries must soon follow; and that Lewis would no longer think it his interest to support him against his discontented subjects. He resolved therefore to make a separate peace with Holland, which he did in 1674.

On the 23d of October in this year, the prince of Orange was married to the princess Mary, the duke of York's eldest daughter. Lewis was greatly surprised that such an important step was taken,

not

1674.

7 Hume,
488.
2d Dutch
war.

503.

1674.
Peace with
the Dutch.

1677.
8 Hume,
34.
The
prince of
Orange
married.

1677. not only without his consent, but without his knowledge or participation. He found that a conjunction of England with the allies, and a vigorous war, were the consequence immediately expected both abroad and at home. The general peace of Nimiguen therefore took place the following year.

Dalr. 41.

In the year 1674, before differences were come to any height between Charles and the house of commons, the prince had declined a marriage with the duke's daughter, although it was offered. But now, when the breach was greatly widened, he pressed for the marriage, either to close the divisions of England, or to turn them to his own advantage.

1678.
1 Macph.
232.
Secret intelligence
with
France by
Barillon.

The eagerness of some well meaning men, the avarice of several, and the profligacy of a few in the opposition, opened a secret intelligence with France, through Barillon her ambassador at the court of London. The allies had taught the French king to sway the deliberations

tions of the English parliament, by corrupting its members. Their suspicions of Charles, perhaps, justified their opposition; and men of vehement passions might reconcile corruption itself to honour, when it proved the means of defeating the views of the king against public freedom; but when was it known successful, when it fell into the views of a French king or a French ministry? And yet we may well doubt whether the same game is not now playing over again, and that some French pensioners may now be found attempting to raise disturbances among us, to the ruin of their country.

1678.

Dist. 40.
Contentions by
French corrup-
tion.

The parliament petitioned Charles to disband his army, attacked his ministers, and repeatedly declined to give him supplies. But the effects of all these passions broke forth, chiefly upon the conversion of the king's brother, and the second Dutch war, which followed it.

Dal. 40.
Contentions by
French corrup-
tion.

E

After

1678. After the end of the second Dutch war, the five subsequent years were spent in a continual state of contention between the house of commons and their sovereign, aided by French corruption, as above said.

Dalr. 62.
Distresses
upon
distresses.

From that time to the Revolution in 1688, the laws were laid almost in ruins, in consequence of those very efforts which were made to preserve them. They exhibit faction in England and Scotland, rebellion in Scotland and Ireland, and invasion impending upon all the three kingdoms; distractions in the royal family, divisions and treachery among the great, terrors among the people; France enjoying and insulting over the misfortunes she created, but sharing them in the end; and a gallant nation in continual agitations, not the symptoms of weakness, but of vigour, keeping its course straight forwards towards liberty and glory.

The

The English nation, ever since the fatal league with France, had entertained violent jealousies against the court; and the subsequent measures adopted by the king, had tended more to encrease than cure the general prejudices. Arbitrary power and popery were apprehended as the scope of all projects; each breath or rumour made the people start with anxiety: in this timorous, jealous disposition, the cry of a plot all on a sudden struck their ears; an universal panic being diffused, reason and argument, common sense and common humanity lost all influence over them. Each hour teemed with new rumours and surmises. Invasions from abroad, insurrections at home, even private murders and poisonings, were apprehended. To deny the reality of the plot was to be an accomplice. To hesitate was criminal. Royalist, republican; churchman, sectarist; courtier, patriot; all parties concurred in the illusion. The city

1678.
Hume,
61.
The Po-
pish plot.

73.
General
consterna-
tion.

678. prepared for its defence, as if the enemy were at its gates. The chains and posts were put up; and it was a noted saying, at that time of Sir Thomas Player, the chamberlain, that, were it not for these precautions, all the citizens might rise next morning with their throats cut.

Dal. 43.
An account of
Shaftesbury, and
his plan.

Shaftesbury, who had been bred up in all the late schools of civil commotion, and stimulated against the king and duke of York, by offences both given and received, contrived the popish plot; in which was involved the assassination of Charles and his brother, an invasion, the conflagration of the city, and a massacre of the protestants, it was calculated in its great lines to gain the attention of the higher ranks of the nation; and by the familiarity and detail of its circumstances, to catch the credulity of the meanest of the populace. By making the duke one of the objects of the assassination, it prevented the suspicion of its being directed against him; and by accusing

cusing the queen, whom the king did not love, it gave a chance for separating the interests of the brothers. The information, as soon as given, flew instantly abroad. Even the marvellousness of the story gave credit to what it was almost impossible to believe human fiction could have invented. Accident after accident arising in a manner unparalleled in history, concurred to maintain the delusion. Success seemed to follow in a train. Lord Danby and the king's former ministers, and most of his servants, joined in their zeal against it; and the king, to avoid the imputation of popery, entered into the prosecution of a plot which he knew to be a fiction.

Information was no sooner given, than it was converted to the purpose of excluding the duke of York from the throne; and during the combustion, an accident, which happened by the king's sickness, determined the exile of the duke of Monmouth, the king's natural son in Holland, and the duke of York's retirement into Scotland.

1579.
§ Hume,
103, 106.
Bill of
exclusion
against the
duke of
York.

A bill was brought into parliament for the total exclusion of the duke from the crown; and an impeachment was also brought against the five popish lords in the Tower, and the earl of Danby; whereby a quarrel commenced between the two houses, and the king hastened to prorogue the parliament, which in July he dissolved.

1620.
Another
parlia-
ment dis-
solved.

The bill of exclusion was again brought into a new parliament, where the debates were carried on with great violence; it went through the commons, and was rejected by the lords; but as there remained no hopes of bringing the commons to any composition, this parliament was also dissolved.

§ Hume,
144.
Resolu-
tions of
the com-
mons, pre-
vious to
their dis-
solution.

The commons having received previous intelligence of the intention to prorogue them, tumultuously passed the following votes: that whoever advised his majesty to prorogue this parliament to any other purpose, than in order to pass the bill of exclusion, was a betrayer

of
the
parliament
of
England
in
the
year
1620.
H. 3.

of the king, of the protestant religion, and of the kingdom of England; a promoter of the French interest, and a pensioner of France: that thanks be given to the city of London, for their manifest loyalty, and for their care and vigilance in the preservation of the king, and of the protestant religion: that it is the opinion of this house, that that city was burned in the year 1666 by the papists, designing thereby to introduce arbitrary power and popery into the kingdom: that humble application be made to his majesty to restore the duke of Monmouth to all his offices and commands, from which it appears to this house, he had been removed by the influence of the duke of York; and that it is the opinion of the house, that the prosecution of the protestant dissenters upon the penal laws, is at this time grievous to the subject, a weakening of the protestant interest, an encouragement of

1680. popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom.

These votes of the commons seemed to be an attempt of forming indirectly an association against the crown, after they found that their associating bill could not pass. The dissenting interest, the city, and the duke of Monmouth, they endeavoured to connect with the country party. A civil war never appeared so likely as at present; and it was high time for the king to dissolve a parliament, which seemed to have entertained such dangerous projects.

1681.
New parliament at Oxford dissolved.

A new parliament met at Oxford; and a new dispute arising between the two houses on a proposed impeachment against Fitzharris, and great heats likely to ensue, the king dissolved that also, without giving time to form resolutions as before.

Parliaments discontinued, which encreases the rage of parties.

Charles from henceforward ceased to govern by parliaments, which made the breach between him and the friends of

of liberty irreparable. During the prosecution of the plot, universal corruption of manners prevailed. The two parties, actuated by mutual rage, but cooped up within the narrow limits of the law, levelled with poisoned daggers the most deadly blows against each others breast, and buried in their factious divisions all regard to truth, honour, and morality. The English nation was, for the first time, taught that the abuse of laws may be worse than the want of them; but those of deeper reflection perceived, that an entire revolution of government alone, could restore the political morals of the people.

1680.

3 Hume,
156.

Dal. 65.

The quo warranto against the city of London, having occasioned all corporations to surrender up their charters to the king, it laid the whole constitution at his majesty's feet, by which so great a faction adhered at this time to the crown, that resistance, however justifiable, could never be prudent. All wise men

1683.

3 Hume,

177.

Dal. 74.

The corporations
surrender
their charters to the
king.

1683.

men saw no other expedient but peaceably to submit to the present grievances. But, as it discovered Charles's intention to undermine the liberties of England, it became one of the chief foundations of all the future calamities of his family.

Macph.
418.
Charles,
his great
power.

The pecuniary difficulties which first threw Charles into the arms of France, destroyed his future importance abroad. But now he seemed to be advancing with hasty strides towards that weight and consequence, which he possessed in the first years of his reign. His domestic enemies lay subdued by their own folly more than by his power. He seemed to be cloathed with absolute authority, even with the consent of his people.

Hume,
179.
Monmouth's
conspiracy.

A conspiracy, headed by the duke of Monmouth and others, formed into a council of six, namely, Monmouth, Russell, Essex, Howard, Alg. Sidney, and Hambden, would have been precipitated by Shaftesbury, had it not been prevented by the caution of lord Russell, who

who induced Monmouth to delay the enterprize. Shaftesbury meditated all those desperate schemes, which disappointed revenge and ambition could dictate; but, after a long struggle between fear and rage, he at last abandoned all hopes of success, and retired into Holland; where he died soon after, without giving sorrow to his friends, or joy to his enemies.

Monmouth's party, after Shaftesbury's departure, found some difficulties in renewing their correspondence in the city, but at last formed a regular project for an insurrection.

While these schemes were concerting, an inferior order of conspirators, who, from the place they met at, went by the name of the Rye-house plot, carried on projects quite unknown to Monmouth, and his cabal of six. Those of the inferior order frequently mentioned, among themselves, the assassination of the king and duke, and indulged themselves in the most desperate and criminal discourses.

Both

1683.

Shaftesbury's death.

§ Hume, 131.
The Rye-house plot.

1683.

The plot
and con-
spiracy
confound-
ed toge-
ther.

Both plots were discovered at the same time, and confounded with each other; and many were tried and executed in consequence thereof; among which Monmouth's friends underwent the infamy of assassins, who had no such design.

1684.

Dal. 104.
Charles
unhappy.

These, and divers other measures and projects, made Charles unhappy; his usual gaiety forsook him. Rudeness to persons around him, succeeded to the manners of the best bred man in Europe. The reflections that he had no child to succeed him; his knowledge of the duke's character and intentions; with the consequences, which he foresaw from them, added fears, for the future, to his present anxiety. After some differences in sentiments between them, he was one day overheard to say, "I am too old
" to go to my travels a second time,
" brother, you may if you will;" at another time, James having expressed his fears that the plots would end in assassinating Charles, the latter, with better
dis-

discernment, said, " Brother, your bi-
 " gotry is my surest protection"

1684.

The death of Charles the II^d, in this
 year, was regretted more on account of the
 hatred which many bore to his successor,
 than of the love entertained for himself.

Dal. 105.
His death.

On James's accession to the throne,
 he was possessed of a more limited mo-
 narchy than Charles the first had possessed
 at the like season; but all parties had
 their fears and doubts, as James had be-
 come a bigotted convert to the Romish
 religion.

James's
accession.

On the very first Sunday after his ac-
 cession, instead of going privately to mass,
 as he was before accustomed to do, he
 went publicly, and with all the ensigns
 of royalty, to the celebration of a cere-
 mony which the laws of the kingdom
 had declared to be criminal. The duke
 of Norfolk, who carried the sword of
 state, stopped at the door of the chapel;
 the king passing him, said, " My lord,
 " your father would have gone farther;"

109.
Goes to
mass
publicly.

the

1624.

the duke, though a Roman catholic, answered, " Your majesty's father would not have gone so far." However, the king's declaration to his privy council allayed those ferments for a little while.

Dal. 107.
His de-
claration
to his
privy
council.

He told them, in that declaration, that he had been reported to be a man fond of arbitrary power; but that was not the only falshood which had been reported of him: that he would make it his endeavour to preserve the government in church and state, as it was then by law established; and should always take care to defend and support the principles of the church of England, and never invade any man's property; and he would go as far as any man in preserving the nation in all its just rights and liberties. These popular words were followed by a more popular action; James ordered a new parliament to be summoned.

831.
Speech to
his parlia-
ment.

The speech he made in parliament confirmed what he had declared to his privy council, and concluded that the best way

way to engage him to meet them often, was to use him well.

This declaration and speech procured him from parliament, not only the 1,200,000*l.* a year for life, which had been before settled on his brother for life; but also 800,000*l.* a year more, beside the revenues of Scotland and Ireland; notwithstanding all which, he broke through what he had promised.

James was apprized of an intended invasion from Holland, under the earl of Argyle, and gave orders to the privy council in Scotland, to put that kingdom in a posture of defence.

Neither Argyle's fortune nor conduct were answerable to the spirit and pomp of his declarations: reduced to difficulties in his mountains, he endeavoured to force his way to the Low Countries. He was deserted by his followers, and either by the ignorance or treachery of his guides, was misled into a bog, and taken and executed.

1684.

Both
which pro-
cures an-
nually two
millions
for life.

1685.

1 Macph.
440.
Argyle's
invasion in
Scotland.

441.
Is taken
and exe-
cuted.

1655.
1 Macph.
443.
Duke of
Mon-
mouth's
invasion in
England,

The duke of Monmouth, in consequence of his promise to Argyle, landed near Lyme. He soon formed round him the show of an army, but no person of rank joined his standard; they knew his limited abilities, and were no strangers to his total want of resources. He was proclaimed king at Taunton and Bridgewater. His army consisted of 5000 men; but he was deficient in arms to supply more men, and of all the other necessaries of war. He was also diffident of his troops, and undecisive in his councils; a train of accidents and his own feeble conduct were more fatal to him than any precaution of his enemy, and his spirits sunk under the pressure of his distresses. However his desperate situation re-kindled his courage: he resolved to surprize the king's army under the earl of Feversham at Sedgmoor; his fate was soon decided, and confusion, slaughter, and flight prevailed; in his flight he was taken in a ditch covered with fern,

fern, and with some green peas in his pocket, which had been his only sustenance for some days. His execution soon followed; he was much regretted by the lower class, whose affections followed him beyond the grave.

1685/
is taken
and exe-
cuted.

After the duke of Monmouth's defeat, the cruelties in the West were much taken notice of. The robberies and murders in the eye of the law, which were committed by FEVERSHAM, who hung up, without any trial, twenty prisoners, and of KIRK, who hung up in like manner, nineteen; which last, with a savage refinement, made a sport of the murders he committed, without any notice being taken thereof, either by the court, or the officers of the law. In the commission to try the prisoners on the western circuit, judge JEFFREYS had power also given him to command the forces there, so that the terrors both of the law and the sword, were united in his person; by virtue of which he condemned one

Dal. 136.
Jeffreys's
cruelties
in the
West.

Dal. 137.

139.

1685.

thousand capitally, whereof one fourth part fell by the hands of the executioner; the other punishments were numerous and rigid beyond example.

143.

Jeffreys
made lord
chancellor

This was called Jeffreys's campaign, and, soon after his return to London, he was appointed lord high chancellor; a promotion, which discovered either approbation of his conduct, or too great a contempt of popularity in his master.

143.

Prosper-
ous state of
James.

At this time James possessed what no king of England, from the times of the two Norman princes, had done, namely, a vast revenue independent of parliament, and a strong army dependent on himself only. This prosperous state suggested to him, that he might secure his power for ever, by obtaining the sanction of parliament for the support of a standing army, commanded by popish officers. He therefore applied to parliament for the support of his army, and for enabling popish officers to serve without being obliged to take the tests against it; the
speech

Dal. 144.

speech which he made upon this occasion was to his second session of parliament, and in a higher tone than he had hitherto assumed, by which he roused the spirit, and opposition of both houses; and the consequence was, he prorogued the parliament without effecting his purpose.

James, still unmoved, and thoughtless of his past distresses, when, with the rest of his family, he had been driven from the kingdom, in want of every thing; or of his many escapes since, by bills of expulsion, and the efforts of the duke of Monmouth, and such like; he established and regulated a perpetual encampment of 12,000 men on Hounslow Heath, and Sunderland became his first favourite; a promotion which proved fatal to him who bestowed it. This man adopted all the partiality of the king, in favour of Roman catholics; by which he hoped to continue an absolute minister of an absolute monarch, if the nation should yield to the king; or to assume

1685.

149.
Encamp-
ing on
Hounslow
Heath.

150.
1686.
Sunder-
land prime
minister.

1686.

merit with the prince of Orange, from having urged James to his ruin, if the nation should rise up against him. There is good reason to believe, that Sunderland enjoyed pensions from the prince of Orange, Lewis the XIVth, and James all at one time, pretending to each of these princes, a separate attention to his interest.

Macph.
430.
James's
weakness
to his con-
verts.

To pretend to be converted by James's arguments, was to ensure his protection and favour. He received the supposed converts into his confidence. He gave them an absolute dominion over his mind. In defiance of all remonstrances, he followed their advice, which at length terminated in his ruin.

Dal. 157.
His popish
council.

James having formed a cabal of seven papists, namely, the king, Sunderland, father Petre, Bellasis, Powis, Arundel, and Dover, for concerting all measures to be taken, which regarded the interests of the Roman catholic religion; and particularly to procure a free admission of them into offices, notwithstanding the tests, and a toler-

toleration for their religion, by a suppression of the penal laws against it; and having removed some of his judges, who were exceptionable to his further views, and supplied their places with persons fitter for his purpose; he tried his power of dispensing with the laws, by an action, wherein a judgment was obtained in his favour; but still he was unsuccessful in a parliamentary repeal of the tests which he attempted.

He instituted an ecclesiastical high commission court, to prevent the clergy preaching upon controverted points; by which commission, "power was given to punish even those who *seemed* to be *suspectea* of offences; and to correct, amend, and alter the statutes of the universities, churches, and schools; or, where the statutes were lost, to devise new ones." And these powers were declared to be effectual, "notwithstanding any law or statute to the contrary."

1686.
153.

Tries his power of dispensing with the laws, and obtains a verdict.

Dalr. 159.
He institutes an ecclesiastical court.

1687.
 Dal 164.
 The king's
 attempts
 on the
 church
 and clergy.

He received a nuncio from the pope, and made four bishops; he imprisoned seven of the protestant bishops, who were acquitted upon their trials to the great joy even of the king's own army. He gave away the possessions of the protestant church to the popish clergy, with many other stretches of his prerogative; sowing, at the same time, jealousies between the church and the dissenters.

1688.
 180.
 The Bri-
 tons turn
 their eyes
 towards
 the prince
 of Orange.

During a succession of such disagreeable measures, almost all eyes in Britain were turned towards the prince of Orange; whose consort, the lady Mary, as the eldest daughter of James, was the next heir to the crown; the prince was a protestant, and the preserver of his own country; he was head of the protestant interest in Christendom, and the assertor of the liberties of Europe, in opposition to that power which was the hereditary enemy of England. Both whigs and tories were willing to preserve their liberty, by the assistance of such a prince, whose

whose confort would, in all probability, have a right to their future allegiance. The church of England was driven to despair; the dissenters found out, at last, that they were like to be made the forgers of their own chains; some of James's friends began to think, that they had gone too far in favour of his religion, even Jeffreys hesitated, repented, and trembled. Some indulged, some changed, and some invented principles to vindicate their conduct; but almost all resolved on the conduct they were to follow.

The birth of the prince of Wales, which happened at this time, set all these sparks into a flame. Men saw no end to their fears; and the happiness of their sovereign, in this event, was looked upon as an entail of calamity on the nation. James, by avoiding to assemble his parliament, had put it out of the power of his people to recur to their constitutional relief: most of them abhorred the thoughts of a civil war, be-

1688.

The birth of the prince of Wales unfavourable to James.

1688.

cause they recollected, that in the time of Charles the first, the nation, by the opposition against one prince, had been subjected to an hundred tyrants; but they thought that a foreign force, together with the pretensions of the prince of Orange, to interpose in the settlement of a nation, which was too apt, when left to itself, to run into confusion, might afford security against tyranny on the one hand, and anarchy on the other. Both parties carried their complaints to the prince, whose reserve and cautiousness gave them a high opinion of his prudence, and that they were safe in forming connections with him.

Dal. 187.
The
prince of
Orange's
situation
with fo-
reign
powers.

The king of Spain, the emperor, and the prince of Orange pressed James to join in a league, which the prince had been forming; composed of one half of Europe, against France; to which James offered to accede, provided the prince would concur with him in procuring the abolition of the penal laws and tests against

against the English Roman catholics; but his sincerity was suspected, and, as the league would be unavailing without the accession of England, the leaguers resolved upon the ruin of the king, as a necessary prelude to the vengeance they meditated against France. 1688.

Count Zulestein, who was the prince's ambassador to England, to felicitate the king upon the birth of the prince of Wales, carried back with him an invitation, in form, from a great number of the most considerable persons in Britain, for the prince of Orange to come over with an armed force to call his legitimacy in question. Dalr. 1931
The English invite the prince into England, with an armed force.

It was concerted, that, as soon as the prince landed in England, his friends should disperse into their several counties, to raise insurrections, and distract the common enemy. 196.

The prince, who was as swift in executing, as he was slow in resolving, preserved the same secrecy in those things which His preparations in Holland.

1688.

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1688.

Dalr. 1931
The English invite the prince into England, with an armed force.

196.

His preparations in Holland.

1688. which were more immediately his province. The prince intrusted his design only to the leaguers, or their ministry, and to five of his own countrymen, who kept the secret as profoundly as the English malecontents had done, who saw their ruin in case of a discovery.

Dal. 198.

His artful
deluding
the pope.

The king of England believed his preparations were against France, and the king of France sometimes thought them against Denmark, and at other times against the liberties of the prince's own country. But the finest stroke of his policy, was his art in deluding the pope, whose animosity against France made him credit the prince, that the emperor was to send a great army to the Rhine, which the prince was to join with one equally great from Holland, and march at the head of both into France; for the advancement of which, the pope remitted great sums, which were employed in the dethroning of a Roman catholic king.

which 6

Till

Till September James was prevented from the knowledge of what was preparing against him; a letter from Lewis the XIVth gave him, at last, certain news of an intended invasion. He dropped the letter from his hand, turned pale, and stood motionless. His past errors, and his future dangers rushed at once upon his thoughts; he strove to conceal the distresses of his mind, but, in attempting it, he betrayed them.

During these perplexities, he wrote to the French king, intreating him to keep a fleet ready at Brest, and cashiered several of his officers for refusing popish recruits; and in the same breath took off the bishop of London's suspension, and invited such of the bishops as were in town to confer with them. They gave him their advice, but the divisions which arose among his subjects on that account, pleased him; an unhappy satisfaction to a prince, over which invasion and rebellion impended.

Neither

1688.
Dal. 201.
James receives intelligence of William's intended invasion.

202.
James writes to Lewis, and acts with inconsistency at home.

1688.
 1 Macph.
 104.
 His unpopularity.

547.
 His diffidence and timidity lost what he would not otherwise have done.

Neither mortification, nor misfortune itself, could convince this infatuated prince of his error; while he dreamt of security from the birth of a son, he might perceive that his own fall was near. So low was his credit sunk among his people, such prescience they all had of his fate, that the child had like to have died before a wet nurse, to suckle him, could be procured. The arts of his private enemies, and treachery of his supposed friends, might ultimately have stript him of part of his authority, but none but James could deprive himself of his throne. Had he remained in England, his very misfortunes would probably have brought back the old, or created new friends; but his diffidence and timidity opened, for the prince of Orange, an easy accession to a crown, which, though he might seize, he might never have retained by the force of his arms, if James had not deserted it.

James

James made preparations for his defence, with the vigor of his former life, but, in doing so, he committed many errors. All measures, and all accidents proved fatal to him; he joined his army at Salisbury, the prince of Orange being landed at Torbay, and coming forwards to meet him.

Hurt in friendship, and in the relations of nature, shocked with ingratitude, knowing not whom to trust, suspecting all by turns, and most with good reason; his daughter and prince George of Denmark, her husband, and lord Churchill with others having deserted him; and dreading to be delivered up by those troops whom he had assembled to defend him, part of them having been defeated in a skirmish; James retreated with a division of his army to London, and hearing the prince was advancing after him, he ordered the other division to follow him.

Barillon,

1688:

Dal. 204.
His preparation
for defence.

206.

Dal. 229.
James retreats to
London.

1692.
 Dal. 297.
 Is advised
 to retire
 into
 France.

The queen
 retires
 with her
 son, and
 James pro-
 mises to
 follow.

298.
 Halifax
 hastens the
 king's de-
 parture.

299.
 The king's
 flight.

Barillon, the French ambassador, and the Roman catholics, advised him to retire into France, which, they said, would throw loose all the dependences of government, and render the re-establishment of the nation impracticable. Accordingly, the queen, sunk by adversity, took the lead with their infant prince, having obtained the king's promise that he would speedily follow her.

When the queen and the prince were gone, the solitude of the palace conveyed ideas of more horror to the king. This was further increased by Halifax, who invented a fiction to impel James to leave the kingdom, under an apprehension, that his person was in danger from the prince, and that he had only a short time to preserve it.

This determined the king, who, after having destroyed the writs which were intended for a new parliament, and thrown the great seal into the river, hastened towards the sea; but, being stopped

stopped at Feverham, he was brought back to London. Finding himself in London, deserted and denied the use of his palaces, he made choice of Rochester to retire to; and having received, at Rochester, a letter from the queen, to remind him of his promise, and being terrified and hurried on by the advice of his attendants, he from thence took a final leave of his kingdom.

In this situation, an assembly of commons, most of whose members had twice voted to exclude James from the throne, before he came to the enjoyment of it; an assembly of peers, which had even refused to read the last paper of apology which James had left behind him; an army which had abandoned him, whilst he commanded it; a fleet which had followed the example of the army; a church which he had persecuted, and a people who had taken arms, almost universally, against him; would never think themselves safe, without

com-

1688.

Dalr. 246.

249.

Takes his
final leave
of the
kingdom.

258.

Reflec-
tions on
the con-
vention.

1622.

combining their interests with those of the only person who, obeyed by two fleets and two armies, could secure that liberty which all loved, and that impunity which almost all thought they needed.

Dalr. 272.
265.
15 Rapin,
279.
The
crown set-
tled on
William
for life,
and suc-
cession in
the pro-
testant
line.

On the king's departure, therefore, after several conferences and great divisions between both houses of the convention on the questions, whether the king had abdicated or deserted the kingdom; whereon the nation seemed to be threatened with still greater perplexities and dangers, they came to the following resolutions, viz.

“ That the king had abdicated the
“ government, and that the throne was
“ thereby become vacant; and that the
“ sovereignty should be jointly in the
“ prince and princess of Orange, but
“ that the full regal power should be
“ in the prince alone, in the name of
“ both; and that, upon the decease of
“ the prince and princess, the crown
“ should

" should belong to the heirs of the body
 " of the princess; and in default of such
 " issue, to the princess Anne, and the
 " heirs of her body; and in default of
 " such issue, to the heirs of the body of
 " the prince of Orange; and in default
 " of such issue, to the person that should
 " be named, in such manner as should
 " be limited and regulated by act of
 " parliament; and in default of such li-
 " mitation, to the heirs of the prince of
 " Orange."

This resolution was afterwards altered,
 by striking out the words, " to the heirs
 " of the body of the prince of Orange,"
 immediately after the words, " in default
 " of the princess of Denmark's issue," by
 which the nomination of the succession
 was put into the hands of parliament,
 before the crown was bestowed on the
 heirs of the prince of Orange; which
 alteration was made agreeable to the
 prince, because it gave him an opportu-
 nity, through the uncertainty of the suc-
 cession,

1688.

cession, to flatter whom he pleased with the hopes of it, and removed the odium, which attended the bringing his collateral heirs at all into view.

Declara-
tion of
rights.

1773.

The convention also framed, and agreed to, a declaration of rights of the subject ; which declaration maintained, “ that the suspending and dispensing
“ powers, as exercised by king James;
“ all courts of ecclesiastical commission;
“ the levying of money, or maintaining
“ standing forces in times of peace,
“ without consent of parliament; grants
“ of fines and forfeitures before conviction; and juries of persons not qualified, or not fairly chosen, and who in
“ trials of treason were not freeholders,
“ were unlawful. It asserted the freedom of election to parliament, the
“ freedom of speech in parliament, and
“ the right of the subject to have arms
“ for their defence, and to petition his
“ sovereign.” Pitying and respecting human nature, it provided, “ that excessive
“ bails

" bails should not be required, nor ex-
 " cessive fines imposed, nor cruel and
 " unusual punishments inflicted;" and
 it concluded with the great security of
 English liberty, " that parliaments should
 " be frequently assembled."

It was remarked, that it did not
 condemn the suspending and dispensing
 powers; but only those powers which
 had been exercised by king James. But
 it was afterwards altered in the act,
 which converted the declaration into
 a law.

1688;

Dalt. 274.
Remark.

G. 2 PERIOD

1689.

PERIOD THE THIRD.

From 1688 to 1702.

Dalr. 299.
William
teazed
by both
parties.

300.

301.

WILLIAM the III^d. was scarcely seated on the throne, when he experienced the truth of a well known maxim, that crowns are incircled with thorns. He was teazed by the humours, as well as by the parties of his new subjects. He had not the resources enjoyed by the preceding or succeeding princes to overcome his difficulties. The revenues of the state would appear inconsiderable, and the offices of government, of arms, and of revenue, few in number, and small in profit, should we compare them to those of the present times. Besides, men of family had, at that time, as much pride in living frugally, and bestowing attention upon their private affairs, as their posterity have now in disregarding both. Hence the

the dependence upon government was slight, and individuals were left at liberty to follow their own principles, prejudices, and caprices. 1689.

Amidst the pomp of royalty, William found his happiness poisoned from a quarter which he little expected. His Dutch became as discontented as his English subjects. Dalr. 308. And fretted by Dutch discontent.

The French, in his absence, having declared war against Holland, his own enemies, and those of his family, in Holland, exclaimed, that he left his own country exposed to the vengeance of the French, who had declared war against them; even the more moderate lamented, that his absence, as their stadtholder, and attention to his duties, as king of another country, could not fail to draw off his mind from them.

The popular cry was, that Holland must expect to be no more, for the future, than an appendage to England.

163.

William, who was attached to his countrymen, with all the passion of a lover, felt how dearly a prince pays for the dominion of another country, who runs the risque of losing the estimation of his own.

Dalr. 303.
Embar-
rassed in
the choice
of his mi-
nisters.

In the choice of his ministers, the king was embarrassed. Upon the promotion of Nottingham, to be one of the secretaries of state, one party complained, they were all excluded from the participation of power, except one; and the other party, that even one was admitted. The public ministers of his government were Nottingham, Shrewsbury, Hallifax, and Danby; but his confidence was secretly placed in Sidney lord Sidney, and Bentinck, lord Portland.

305.

Lord Sunderland was, by the voice of all, excluded from every department of government; by some, because he had served king James; by others, because he had betrayed him; and by a few, least they might appear to have been the partners of his treachery.

-HW

20

Sir

Nottingham furnished the king with a list of all the prerogatives of the crown, with their dependences on each other; to which William listened the more willingly, to preserve that constitution unimpaired, which had been committed to his care, from those, who had been accustomed to oppose the interest of prerogative.

1689.
Notting-
gives him
a list of
his prero-
gatives.

Sir John Reresby relates, in his Memoirs, that lord Hallifax and lord Danby said to him, the one, that "wise men must not venture too far;" and the other, that "if king James would quit his priests, he might still retrieve his affairs." Many looked aside towards the old, at the very time they were receiving favours from the new establishment. Hallifax even avoided the titles and ribbons which others solicited, lest honours conferred by one prince, should be turned into disgraces by another. In this situation, the true lovers of their country saw, with fore-

Dal. 306.
Critical si-
tuation of
the times.

1689.

boding minds, that all national exertions must be weak, loose, and disappointed, if not betrayed.

In a treatise written about this time by the earl of Warrington, are these words:

“ I see so much treachery in the whole
 “ management of the king’s affairs, that
 “ I have scarce patience to think of it.
 “ The whole administration is put into
 “ such hands, as would make a man
 “ believe, that a design is deeply and
 “ strongly laid to bring back king James.
 “ Most of the justices of the peace
 “ throughout England (whose faithful
 “ execution of the laws is the strength
 “ of the government) are now such as
 “ would be certainly ready to bid him
 “ welcome.”

Dalr. 307.
 The Eng-
 lish alarm-
 ed by
 James’s
 being
 assisted
 with
 French
 forces,

The chief objects of government, both in their own importance, and in the king’s mind, were the support of Holland, attacked at that time by France; the reduction of Ireland; and the settlement of a revenue upon himself; and there-

therefore in the first speech which he made to the convention after he was proclaimed, he had recommended these capital objects to their consideration; but instead of attending to them, the commons passed votes by which, in the course of a few days, one half of the nation seemed to be set in battle array against the other. Notwithstanding the succession of chagrines which the king underwent upon this occasion, he artfully removed the opposition of the commons, by acquainting them that the late king had sailed from Brest to Ireland with French forces. By the words, French forces, all domestic animosities instantly ceased, and they brought on the provisions necessary for the Irish and Dutch affairs, and a provision for the king. But the commons could not be induced to proceed in supplying the king's wants as he wished; but to keep him dependent on parliament, by his necessities. They even postponed, from time to time, the

1689.

Dalr. 308.

310.

Slight put
upon the
king.

1689. the assignment of funds, and the bill
 Dalr. 312. for settling the king's revenue, was not
 ordered till late in the session; nor did
 it pass this session at all, and the pro-
 duce of the funds assigned, when join-
 ed together, was far short of the sume
 voted.

These things affected the king the
 more, because they injured public credit.
 He found that the head of a free people,
 whether a stadtholder of Holland, or a
 king of England, must sometimes be as
 necessitous as his subjects; and he stood
 astonished to find, that he reigned over
 subjects who were more fond of con-
 tinuing divisions, than other nations are
 of bringing them to a period.

Macph. Macpherson, in his character of king
 825. William, truly observes, that he was
 trusted, perhaps, less than he deserved,
 by the most obsequious of his parlia-
 ment; but it may, in part, be said in
 their vindication, that the ill use king
 Charles and king James, his next im-
 mediate

mediate predecessors, had so very few years before made of the bounties of parliament, were warnings that could not be so soon forgotten.

Of all the king's schemes for the reconciliation of his protestant subjects, he was successful in that only of a toleration.

Dalr. 217.
The king
successful
only in a
toleration.

The bill for it passed both houses without opposition, partly from the humanity and good sense of the nation, and partly because the church was thought to be sufficiently secured, by the disappointments which the king had received.

On the war being declared against France, William is reported to have said to his confidants, that it was the first day of his reign. But as the late king was in Ireland, it was apprehended, by many considerable people, that a war, on the part of England, would be chiefly defensive; and that the alliance between England and Holland under one prince, could not fail to be the subject of jealousies to both.

320.
War declared
against
France.

1689.
362.
Discon-
tents on
all sides.

While the late king was attempting to recover his dominions in Ireland, he found himself reduced, even by his successes, to a state of dependence upon his Irish subjects; and was stung with the reflection, that he had only brought calamities upon those, who were venturing their all for him in Scotland; William was under equal difficulties in the management of the two kingdoms he possessed; the disorders in Ireland, the bad success of the fleet at Bantry bay, and the defeat at Killiecranky, raised great discontents in the English parliament; and they imputed to the king and his ministers, what was owing to the excess of their own parsimony, and to the inevitable distractions of a prince, who had been only a few months upon the throne, and who could take no measures of vigour, without trembling, lest he should offend those laws, which he had so lately avenged.

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The discontents of the commons appeared at the same time, in their jealousies of the Dutch. One member having declaimed on the danger of falling into the hands of the French and the Irish, another called out, "add the Dutch." Their jealousies of the Dutch were increased, by the clamours of the trading part of the nation. The king found the business of government obstructed, not only by the discontents of many of his subjects against himself, but by divisions between the two houses of parliament. The state of mutual opposition in which these assemblies had stood for half a century, the antipathy of individuals against each other in the two late reigns, some present jealousies in the peers of the interests of their own order, together with a belief, they entertained, that the present house of commons had hostile intentions against monarchy itself, mingled private papers with political divisions.

1689.
Dale. 363.
The commons jealous of the Dutch.

363.

364.

See. 111.

See. 111.
See. 111.
See. 111.
See. 111.

The

1689.
Dair. 365.

to and
relations

The differences between the houses affected even the highest act of state: the commons had converted the claim of rights and instrument of government into a bill, and sent it to the lords, William, who regulated all his measures by their effect upon France, and who wished, at that time, to attach the elector of Hanover to the grand alliance, desired bishop Burnet to move, that the princess Sophia of Hanover, and her posterity, should be inserted in the order of succession, after those who had been named in the instrument of government. The lords agreed to the amendment as moved; but the commons refused to receive it.

Dair. 366.

Amidst the variety of their contentions, the original bill itself, the great instrument of English liberty, was lost for this session.

369.
Divisions
in the
royal fa-
mily.

The divisions of the nation, and between the houses of parliament, the king bore, though with impatience; but when it brought on disturbances in the royal family,

family, relative, among other things, to the prince's Anne's independent provision in parliament; he was filled with alarms, and to prevent further contentions upon the subject, he closed the sessions with an adjournment.

1689.

The Scotch convention, when converted into a parliament, engaged itself in a formal and determined opposition to all the king's measures. They provided no revenue for him, they refused to support his forces, although there was a civil war yet unextinguished in their country, a piece of obstinacy attended with mischievous consequences, for it obliged the king to disband a part of his Scotch army, and to leave the rest without pay, and the soldiers, who were retained in the service, to live upon free quarter. The populace were inflamed to so great a degree, that the new judges were obliged to take their seats under the protection of a regiment of dragoons.

Dalr. 378.
Scotch dis-
contents.

379.

The king, in uncertainty whose advice
to

1689. to follow, or what measures to take, from time to time, adjourned the parliament for near a year.

Dalr. 383.
Reflec-
tions.

Thus, in return for having delivered three kingdoms from popery and slavery, William, before he was a year upon the throne, found himself repaid with faction in one of them, with rebellion in another, and with both in the third. But the dissensions between the two royal sisters gave him more vexation than all the three; because he foresaw that latent treasons would follow it, which he would not dare to punish, or even to unveil.

400.

402.
The
mistakes
of parties
favourable
to the
king.

The adjournment of the parliament being turned into a prorogation, they proceeded upon the footsteps of the last sessions; informations and murmurs came from all quarters, and the nation stood aghast, each distrusting his neighbour, and all believing that treachery had insinuated itself into every department of service. The commons shewed so little delicacy

delicacy to the king, that they appointed a committee to enquire into the application of his revenue; they also resolved to address him on the general state of the nation. However the king was relieved from the immediate distress of his situation, by a too open attempt of one party, to secure that power for ever; of which they were then possessed. They had brought in a bill for restoring corporations to their original state, before they had been modelled by Charles and James; and then added a clause to disable, for seven years, all persons to be electors in corporations, who had been any how accessary to the modelling of them. The importance of this blow to the other party being discovered, each party separately flew to pay their court to the king, and compromised matters with him, who, a little before had seen himself subject to one party, and the other, to appearance, alienated from him, now found himself master of both.

H

Lady

1698.
Dalr. 407.
The princess's settlement.

Lady Marlborough, about this time, had revived the affair of the settlement on the princess Anne, which again embarrassed William, who saw the advantage which the princess had over him; and therefore, on the address from the house of commons being presented, he, with a good grace, conformed to a settlement made on her of 50,000*l.* a year out of his revenue. Of those who solicited the princess upon this success, the loudest were the adherents of the late king, who wisely considered, that the surest road to his restoration was through a breach between his daughters.

Dal. 412.
The king talks of leaving the queen to govern without him.

The king, sensible of his danger on all sides, and irresolute, from what he saw, and what he heard, once leaned, or pretended to lean, to the desperate project of quitting England, retiring to Holland, and leaving the queen to govern a people, whom he found himself unable to please, or to manage. He

com-

communicated his project to several, but it changed no measures; the rage of party ceased not; each pressed, as before, for a declaration of the royal sentiments in its favour, and William at last formed the resolution of calling a new parliament, of going over to Ireland, and of leaving the queen to co-operate with that party, which, though seemingly averse to him, had been always favourable to the interests of her family.

The party struggles still continued, and a project was formed, in order to embarrass the king, for an address against his going to Ireland; but a prorogation, and, a few days after, a dissolution, put a stop to the address; whereby, in the space of little more than a year after William had been upon the throne, he dismissed that parliament, and broke with that party, which were the principal means of placing him upon it.

In the new parliament all parties joined in the proper supplies for the year; and

1659.

Dalr. 413.
The party
struggles
still con-
tinued.

413.

1690.

417.
The king
changes
parties.
418.

settled the excise, and hereditary revenue; but agreed in nothing else, and to remove further disputes, the king prorogued them.

422.
The king goes to Ireland, while a conspiracy is breaking out in England.

Ignorant of the extent of a conspiracy then formed against him, the king sailed for Ireland in June, leaving the reins of government in the hands of a woman, whose councils were distracted by two implacable factions; invasion impending, rebellion in one of the three kingdoms, and expected in the other two; and an exiled master returning with power and vengeance; the British empire shook to its centre.

427.
Conspirators seized

The queen, in order to raise a spirit of loyalty in the nation, alarmed their fears by the danger of the conspiracy. She seized the conspirators, and thereby secured the affections of her people, who were enraged to hear, that the French and Scotch were at the bottom of it; and whatever might be the divisions among the higher ranks of the nation, the

the great body of the people gave, every where, unquestionable signs of their loyalty in support of government.

1690.
Dal. 418.

When the news arrived in England of the success of king William at the battle of the Boyne, and the late king's flight from Ireland; the populace made the Dutch amends for all the clamours which had been raised against them, by the extravagant praises they gave the Dutch seamen, and the injustice they did their own; the English and Dutch fleet having been reported to have been defeated under Torrington at Beachy-head.

443.
The consequences of William's success in Ireland.

The queen and her ministers took advantage of these popular currents, in order to save the honour of national courage, and remove the indignation of the Dutch from the English nation, and they imputed Torrington's conduct to his treachery, and sent him to the Tower, which encouraged the Dutch to re-inforce and encrease their number of ships; and the French king, when he

Torrington sent to the Tower.

1690.
Lewis
drops the
scheme of
an inva-
sion.

saw James returned defeated, and bringing back with him that squadron which was sent to destroy his enemies; and found that, instead of insurrections in Britain, the conspirators were seized, and the nation united against James, because he was supported by him; and that, instead of invading others, he might soon be obliged to defend himself from invasion by land and by sea, he laid aside a project he had formed, of using his fleet to transport James with an army into England.

Dal. 449.

King William returned into England with great popular applause; and the parliament proceeded with vigour, and gave large supplies in support of his measures, without scarce a division.

450.
Torrington
tried
and ac-
quitted.

Torrington was tried and acquitted. The king dismissed him from his service, and would never admit him again to his presence; but appointed Russel in his stead.

Wil-

William had no sooner prorogued his parliament, than he went over to Holland, in January, to preside at a congress of the confederates against France. Great provisions were there resolved on, to compel France to a restitution of all she had taken, and for due reparation; after a short retirement at Loo, William was called forth to the army; and while he was employing himself in that service, a second conspiracy broke out in England, headed by some of both parties.

They made advances to the adherents of the late king; and on a consultation among them, it was resolved, that James's restoration should be effected entirely by foreign forces, to be employed in a double invasion, one in Scotland, and the other in England; that James should remove his Roman catholic counsellors, and publish a declaration when he landed, that he would send back his foreign troops, whenever those of his enemy should be removed, and would refer all

1691.
Dal. 437.
The king
goes to
Holland.

460.

469.
Second
conspiracy
discover-
ed, and all
pardoned
but Ash-
ton.
463.

1691. the subjects of late jealousies to a free parliament.

Dal. 464. Lord Preston and Ashton, on their way to France, with the result of this consultation, were seized with their papers about them; and the whole project was discovered. The alarm hereupon was great, particularly that the common seamen were disloyal, that the sea officers at Portsmouth were unsteady, and several of the king's servants and principal nobility were named among the conspirators. The king, however, generously threw a veil over offences, into which the best of his subjects had been (he said) too hastily betrayed; and having, to prevent mischief, committed one or two to the Tower, and removed the non-juring bishops and clergy, and executed Ashton; he forgave the rest, on their words of honour not to disturb the government.

468.
The bishops de-

The partizans of the old bishops, who, on the fate of the conspiracy, had been deprived,

deprived, published a variety of papers to dissuade the people from submission, by the example of the unsubmitting prelates; and in favour of hereditary right, and passive obedience. But the reasonings of the famous Locke (says Dalrymple) were greedily received by the British nation; and William found, that he had made more converts by the writings of another, than by his own services in defence of their liberties.

1691.
prived,
passive
obedience
preached
up.

The Irish were subdued by Ginkel, who had orders to end the war upon any conditions. The time was critical, when a French fleet of eighteen ships of the line came upon the Irish coasts, with 30,000 arms and with stores of provision and ammunition; imbittering, by the sight of assistance, the reflections in the minds of those to whom it was brought, that, by their mutual jealousies and impatience, it was now become useless; and with which, they reluctantly returned, carrying away with them 14,000 of the Irish
malig-

Dalr. 431.
The Irish
wasted.

1691. malignants; who, with a savage fury and joy, quitted their native land, and consented to become, for ever, the subjects of a foreign power, whereby the Irish war was declared at an end.

Dalr. 424.
Parlia-
ment gives
vast sup-
plies.

The king, at the opening of his parliament at the end of this year, demanded large supplies for the current year; which were granted him. But a bill, which passed both houses, to make the salaries and offices of the judges for life, was, at this great æra of liberty, refused the assent of the king, leaving room for a succeeding monarch to give unasked, to the wishes of his people, what William refused to their prayers.

Bill for
making
Judges
places for
life, re-
fused by
the king.

1692.
Dal. 491.
Incite-
ments of
Lewis to a
grand in-
vasion.

Lewis the XIVth, being convinced, that he could not venture too much upon the chance of dethroning king William, determined his resolution to make one great effort, for an invasion of England in favour of James. Lewis and James both derived their chief hopes of success from the intrigues which had been

492.

been carried on, within the verge of the court of England itself: particularly with Godolphin, Hallifax, and Marlborough; which last was the first person, who gave James the intelligence of William's intention to go to Ireland; and the chief person to give them timely warning to provide for their safeties, whenever any warrant of the privy council, of which he was a member, was directed against them. In Marlborough's letters, he assured James, that lady Marlborough could bring the princess Anne back to her duty, and that he had brought over others to the same interest.

Lord Middleton was sent over to England, to adjust the terms which James was to give to the nation, because the security for the constitution was contended for; Lewis the XIVth was once obliged to interpose in order to overcome the reluctances of James, who suggested, that, "if he was once upon the throne, he would find more complaisance from
his

1693.

Depend-
ing on the
intrigues
carried on
in Eng-
land.

Dalr. 493.

494.
French
prepara-
tions.

1692.

“ his subjects than he was at present to expect.” But at length all things were settled; and the French king got assurances, that the army would be directed by Marlborough, the fleet by Ruffel, and a great part of the church by the princess Anne.

Dal. 495.
James's
de-
clara-
tion.

As soon as the French preparations were nearly compleated, James published a declaration, wherein all ecclesiastical preferments were to be confined to the church of England; but, with regard to securities for the liberties of the nation, his words, though fair, were general and indefinite. With a view to entice all men by the hopes of impunity, the declaration contained a general pardon, with very few exceptions. Marlborough and Ormond were of the number, excepted at Marlborough's desire, the more effectually to conceal their secret connections.

502.
498.
William
and James

England and Holland were equally prepared to oppose the invasion. But it

is

is a singular circumstance, that at this period, James distrusted the sincerity of the men, on whose assurances he proceeded; and that William made use of the services of some, of whose insincerity he had intelligence. When James considered the justness of the informations with which Marlborough had supplied him, he believed that lord to be sincerely attached to him; but when he reflected upon the breach of his promises, with regard to the revolt of the army, he suspected that he meant a second time to betray him. He sometimes believed, that Russel's views were not so much directed to serve him, as from republican principles, to degrade monarchy in his person; and, at other times, he suspected that Russel played a double game; his suspicions were increased by the conduct of one of the contending parties, because, although their leaders were permitted to give him assurances, from a great body of their friends, yet they

were

1692
both sus-
pect those
they em-
ploy.

1692. were not left at liberty to give him a list of their names. Upon William's return from Holland, after the battle of La Hogue, he reproached lord Godolphin with the correspondence he carried on. Godolphin denied it; but the king put a letter into his hand, written by Godolphin to James, which had been stolen from that prince's cabinet, and desired him to reflect upon the treachery of those he was trusting, and the mercy that was shewn him; a generosity of proceeding which, says Dalrymple, attached Godolphin to William ever after. The king also charged Shrewsbury with the like correspondence about the same time, and sent a colonel of the guards soon after to let him know, that the colonel had orders, either to conduct him to the Tower, on account of his connections with James, or to leave with him the secretary's seals. Lord Marlborough, with more severity, was first dismissed from his employment, and afterwards

terwards sent to the Tower, while the invasion was depending; but these precautions were necessary, because there was no medium between putting it out of his power to do mischief, and trusting the fate of the kingdom in his hands; yet, at an after period, he restored lord Marlborough to his rank, and employed him in great services.

It was much more difficult to resolve upon the conduct, which it was prudent for the king and queen to observe, with regard to the princess. For to use rigour against the presumptive heir to the crown, upon suspicion of only corresponding with her own father, would have raised the passion, as well as the pity of the nation; therefore many little indignities were put upon her, to make it conspicuous to all that she had lost her consequence.

The queen, on the English fleet joining, and a report spreading that the officers were disaffected, ordered lord

1694.
Dal. 501.
Princess
Anne's
disgrace.

503.
Queen's
message to
the fleet
before the
battle of
La Hogue.

Nottingham to write to Ruffel, that "she
 " had declared, she would change none
 " of her officers; and that she imputed
 " the reports which had been raised
 " against them, to the contrivance of
 " her enemies and theirs;" and instead
 of prohibiting James's declaration to be
 read, she ordered it to be published, with
 an answer to it; thus manifesting, that
 she submitted her title to the reason of
 her subjects, instead of betraying a fear,
 that it could not stand examination.

Dair. 509.
 Rewards
 after the
 battle.

On the news of the destruction of the
 French fleet at La Hogue, the queen
 gave 30,000l. to the seamen, and public
 funerals were bestowed upon those officers
 whose bodies were brought on shore. In
 France, James slowly and sadly returned,
 to bury the remembrance of his great-
 ness in the convent of La Trappe. All
 his attempts, and those of his family
 afterwards, to recover the throne of their
 ancestors, were disappointed, either by
 the insincerity of French friendship, or
 the

the infatuation or ill-conduct of himself or friends, or the superior genius of his opponents. The French owed their misfortunes to their presumption at first, and afterwards to their want of spirit and skill. The fate of the British kingdoms depended upon accidents; had Tourville arrived on the coasts of Normandy a few days before, or had the winds detained him till Russel's proposed return to his old station, the crown of England might have been transferred to the late king, without contest.

James was not rendered desperate by the success of the English fleet. He continued his correspondence with Russel, and held his former communication with his friends in England; his agents were busy, the discontented caballed in his favour, men in office betrayed to him the secrets of the cabinet, and sometimes guided their conduct by his advice. The ministry complained of Russel, and Russel of the ministry. Clamour, disappoint-

1692.

Macph.

13.

James continues his correspondence in England.

I

ment,

1692.

ment, and ill-humour prevailed, after an event which promised general satisfaction and joy.

2 Macph.
28.
Grand-
val's plot
against the
life of
William.

The discovery of a plot against the life of William, and the execution of Grandval, the pretended assassin, gave occasion to much reflection and noise. This incident, at the time, served the views of party; and unjustly loaded, with a degree of infamy, an unhappy prince, already ruined by his folly and misfortunes.

20.
Party dis-
putes.

The passions of men, inflamed by faction and party, were ready to receive impressions of the worst kind. The press groaned with political pamphlets. The one party attacked the measures of government, and accused the king of a breach of faith to the nation. The other party complained of the management of the war, the burden of taxes, and the imperfect securities of the liberties of the people. These and such like suggestions from both parties, were received with avidity,

avidity, by a people accustomed to blame the measures of every government.

In the midst of these discontents, William returned to England. His speech to his parliament was calculated to gain their good opinion, but both houses, notwithstanding, still shewed symptoms of discontent; and James continued to correspond with their leaders, though they granted the king an ample supply.

The parties were so equally poised that almost the whole winter was spent in the fiercest debates. The people themselves were not unconcerned spectators of the contest. The opposing lords were most refractory. A remonstrance was presented to the king against foreigners. William, who was not of a complexion to grant demands, so contrary to his fixed predilections and views, refused the request, by answering, he would consider it. The opposition had carried their point with such difficulty, that they dropt the remonstrance without

1692.

2 Macph.
21. William
returns to
England.

25. The parties
equally
poised,
but their
ill humour
continued.

any farther efforts; but the ill-humour of the lords continued, and filled the whole session with ineffectual altercations and debates.

1693.
a Macph.
35. James offers terms to the male-contents, which are accepted.

The intrigues of the late king fomented the discontents of all parties; he sent the earl of Middleton to England, by whom he offered such terms as the most scrupulous among the discontented approved. The male-contents were so much disgusted with William, that they received the assurances of James with ardour; and Middleton returned to St. Germain's with eight proposals from those who wished to restore the late king upon conditions.

36.

They were accepted without hesitation; the high opinion which James always entertained of the importance of the fleet, induced him to apply to the principal officers with unremitting diligence. James was flattered by their engagements, and the discontents in the army; and he had promised to himself, an absolute certainty of

of being restored, with little opposition, to the throne.

1693.

His declaration was made conformable to the proposals sent him, and was privately dispersed in England; but some of those who had dispersed it, were secured and punished severely, upon slender proofs, for a high misdemeanor. Several violent libels issued against the government, which raised the resentment of the courts of justice; and Treby chief justice, was compared with Jeffreys, in violence upon this occasion. It is difficult to exclude violence, even from the seats of justice, when a nation is divided into two inveterate parties.

2 Macph.
37.
Discoveries made,
and punishments
inflicted.
38.

The victories of the enemy by land, the disgrace and loss of the nation at sea, the disappointment of individuals, and the discontents which ever accompany national misfortunes, filled the whole kingdom with complaints, murmurs, and noise. In the events of the past years of the war, some glory had been

48.
Misfortunes at
home and
abroad en-
crease the
discon-
tents.

1693. blended with disappointment; but the present year was uniformly covered with misfortune and disgrace, disputes in the cabinet were joined to the disgusts among the people. A general clamour prevailed, which threatened consequences of the worst kind.

a Macph.

50. The late king's correspondence with the ministry, and large promises from both parties.

51.

Though the late king depended much upon the zeal of admiral Russel; who, by his intrigues, had been reinstated to the command of the fleet; he derived still great greater hopes from the marquis of Carmarthen; for though that lord was, in a great measure, prime minister to William, he had entered into the most solemn engagements with James. The want of success by land, the disgraces at sea, the unpopularity and forbidding manner of William, his bad state of health, the disappointments in some, a return of their former principles in others, the discontents, and even levity of all, had encreased to a surprising degree, the party of the abdicated king.

6

In

In the list of noble correspondents with the court of St. Germain, the two parties were blended with one another in the present year; and James had received the most solemn assurances from four dukes, four marquisses, twenty earls, four viscounts, eleven barons, besides the Roman catholics in every degree of nobility. The whole body of the non-juring clergy, consisting of six bishops, six hundred ministers, and four-fifths of those who had taken the oaths were ready to join the late king, to preach in favour of his authority, and to convince the people, that the protestant religion was in no danger. Bristol, Exeter, and Boston had signified their loyalty to James. The earl of Yarmouth, in the names of seventeen baronets, and one hundred and thirty gentlemen, promised for Norfolk. The gentlemen of Essex engaged to join him with a body of cavalry. The earl of Litchfield promised for the county and city of Oxford. The

1693.

Most of
the clergy
and many
in the
army.

1693. earl of Lindsey for the county of Lincoln. Sir John Freind answered for a regiment of cavalry, and two of militia, with which he hoped to possess himself of the Tower. Colonel Selwyn promised for Tilbury fort, and a regiment of infantry. Lieutenant-colonel Row for his own regiment. Colonel Grenville for that of his uncle, the earl of Bath. Crawford, governor of Sheerness, undertook for that fort. The marquis of Carmarthen, the president of the council, promised for Hull. The private soldiers, in some regiments, had formed associations for the late king. One hundred troopers of the royal regiment of cavalry promised for the whole regiment, and to cut the throats of those who should dare to oppose it. In the north of England seven regiments of cavalry and dragoons were privately listed, under officers, bearing commissions from the late king.

His

His most violent enemies, when he was on the throne, were now become his friends in his distress. The county of Somerset, the seat of Monmouth's rebellion, and Jeffrey's cruelties, and town of Taunton in particular, expressed their affection to his person, and their zeal for his restoration. The famous Ferguson and some of the clergy, who had most opposed James, ran so violently into the other extreme, that they were determined to form themselves into a company of volunteers to serve in the regiment commanded by Sir John Freind. The earl of Sunderland, who had betrayed him, being furnished by king William with an opportunity a second time of betraying, convinced the late king's adherents of the sincerity of his repentance, and wrote a letter to James to that purport, which was also vouched by Arran and Marlborough.

The commons were become unpopular through the vast sums which they had granted

1693.
James's
late ene-
mies were
now be-
come his
friends.

As also
those who
had be-
trayed
him.

2 Macph.
56.
William

1693.
refuses his
assent to a
place bill,
and the
commons
throw out
a natura-
lization
bill.

granted, for supporting an inglorious war; and, to regain their credit with their constituents, they framed the place bill; to which William, who was seldom subject to political terrors, refused his assent; they resented it, and a naturalization bill being brought in, it was averred, that the design was to place all the power and authority in England in the hands of aliens; and as the people knew the affection of the king for the Dutch; it was moved in the house of commons, that the bill should be kicked out of the house, and the foreigners out of the kingdom. The people were inflamed to a degree of madness; and the court party sacrificed the bill to the public rage.

1694.
Macph.
59.
James ad-
vised to
make a
descent.

While the parliament were employed in granting supplies to William, the agents of James were forming secret schemes against his power. In letters to the late king, from men of the first quality in the nation, and some in office; it was ob-

observed, that a descent in England would infallibly break the league; and enable France to finish the war with advantage as well as reputation. Penn and others, and particularly Marlborough, entreated James to take advantage of the unprepared state of the English fleet. The letter gave him the most solemn assurances of Marlborough's services, and of the hearty aid of all his party, and numerous friends. In all the representations of the preceding year, it was agreed, that 30,000 men would be necessary to ensure a revolution in England; but when they perceived a coldness in France, they lessened their demands. In February they assured James, that they found his party much stronger, and that 20,000 men would now be sufficient to give him the throne without a battle. Lewis listened with some attention to James, but meant nothing less, than to undertake, with any vigour, his cause.

1694.

a Macph.
60.

The

1694.
 a Macph.
 61.
 Affevera-
 tions from
 England
 repeated.

62.

63.

64.

The late king, though he placed little confidence in Lewis, or the noble converts, continued, by his agent Loyd, to receive assurances from Marlborough, to whom James gave leave, at his request, to accept a place from William, the better to serve James. The like assurances James received from Russel, who with the strongest asseveration, undertook his restoration. The assurances from Shrewsbury, who was secretary of state, were, that he had resolved to join James on his landing, as a report of an immediate descent were then current, and that he only held his place to serve James with more effect. Godolphin affected to be in his interest, and added, that it appeared to him no difficulty in making a descent, and that he believed a revolution might be effected without a blow, as nine in ten of the people either heartily detested William, or were firmly attached to James. Sunderland intreated James to take advantage of the changed opinions of the
 pro-

people; their contempt for William, their discontent at the late heavy taxes, their losses at sea, their disappointments in the war by land, would ensure James of a favourable reception in the kingdom, and therefore Sunderland advised him not to be intimidated with the great supplies granted by parliament to William, as the money could not be raised in time to place the kingdom in a state of defence. While Sunderland tendered thus his advice to James, he and lord Portland formed the secret cabinet of William. The earl of Abingdon too, though actually in correspondence with James, accepted a place of profit, vacant by the death of lord Lovelace.

Carmarthen, Shrewsbury, and Clare were made dukes of Leeds, Shrewsbury, and Newcastle. Mulgrave was made marquis of Normanby, with an annual pension of 3000l. But no titles of honour or views of profit could reconcile

these

1694.

Macph.
65.
The danger of these assertions.

1694. these men, either to the manner or title of the king. Shrewsbury and Leeds, whose advice Mary was implicitly to follow in her husband's absence, were to have embarrassed and betrayed her councils, should her father appear with a force in England.

2 Macph.
67.
Secrets be-
trayed.

William's design upon Brest, and the ships of war in that harbour, were betrayed to James by Marlborough, which disappointed William's expedition, and Marlborough, at the same time, made James suspicious of Russel's sincerity.

72.
The death
of queen
Mary.

74. The king obtained the supplies as usual; but the death of the queen this year, was the greatest of losses to him, and he exhibited, on the occasion, every symptom of an unfeigned grief. The queen certainly deserved every return of friendship at his hands. His own manner, at best, procured more respect than affection, he therefore, had sufficient reason to lament the loss of a consort, whose influence had so much contributed

to

to reconcile the people to his government. But whatever motive weighed most with the mind of William, his prudence might have been trusted, as to the sincerity of his grief. It was his prudence also that, at this season, obtained his assent to the act for triennial parliaments; and to admit the princess Anne into his presence, to whom he presented most of her sister's jewels, and conferred upon her other favours.

Though the death of Mary raised the expectations of the adherents of her father, that prince showed little inclination to avail himself of that event. He either resigned a mind depressed with misfortunes, to religious enthusiasm; or disgusted with the apparent coldness of the French ministry, he left all his hopes of a restoration to fortune. His friends in England ceased not, however, to urge him to an attempt on Scotland. The earl of Arran endeavoured to rouse him with

1694

a Macph.
75.

1695.

94.
James
shews little
inclination
to
take ad-
vantage
of his
daughter's
death.

1695 with letters. The earl of Sunderland, now much in the confidence of William, betrayed his council to James. The manifest decline in the health of William, his loss of influence in the death of Mary, the distress and consequent discontent of the nation, their murmurs against the late heavy taxes, their fears of more, were magnified with ardour. James was assured by his adherents, that, in the present state of affairs and opinions, 10,000 men would be sufficient to re-establish him on the throne. But the successes and reputation which William had acquired, both at home and abroad, had excited admiration. He was considered as the absolute master of Holland; and not only the chain which united the grand confederacy, but even the absolute lord of the members of which it was composed; and therefore, if James had friends in England, it was on them only he could rely. For though he

he was a very faithful son of the Romish church, he had lost his influence with the pope, through his dependence on France; and he had lost France, because she was exhausted, and anxious for a peace.

The late king's friends had foreseen, in the preceding summer, the height to which the bad humour of the people was likely to rise. They had urged James to undertake an invasion, and had promised insurrections in England, whenever he should appear on the coast.

When the new parliament discovered symptoms of refractoriness to the measures of William, the adherents of James redoubled their instances for an invasion early in the spring. They assured that prince, that to land in England was to regain, without contest, his crown; that could he once come to London, or even to some considerable town, without any force, the greatest part of the nation would rise in arms,

K

and

1695. I

1696.
a Macph.
105.
Applications from
England
for an
invasion.

1696.
Lewis pre-
pares an
army, but
refuses to
make a de-
scent till
the Jaco-
bites were
risen.

and restore him to the throne. Lewis the XIVth, flattered with these accounts, agreed to furnish an army and every thing necessary for a descent. He, however, insisted that the Jacobites should rise in arms, before the French troops should embark; and the duke of Berwick was dispatched by his father to England, to take the insurgents under his command. The preparations of France were carried forward with expedition and zeal. The troops, intended for the invasion, began to draw near to Calais and Dunkirk; 400 sail of great and small vessels were assembled from different ports. James himself, urged by Lewis, took post on the 17th of February, and arrived on the 20th at Calais. The Dutch became alarmed for their own country, but an unaccountable security prevailed in Britain.

A plot dis-
covered to
assassinate
the king.

During these preparations for an invasion from France, a conspiracy for assassinating William was framed in Eng-
land,

lands, by some zealous adherents of the late king, which had been forming long. One Crosby had been sent to St. Germain's for a commission from James, for perpetrating the crime; but it was in vain to argue James into an express approbation of any attempt upon the person of the king. He, however, obtained one for a general insurrection against William and all his adherents. Barclay arrived with it in London in January, and joined himself with Harrison, a priest to Charnock, who from being a fellow of Magdalen College, in Oxford, had become a Roman catholic, and captain to Sir William Perkins. These inconsiderate and daring men, under the pretence of James's commission, gained over some desperate Jacobites to aid them in their projected scheme. They first proposed to surprize, seize, and carry William to France, but this was deemed impracticable, should they scruple to take away his life. They resolved, therefore, to

1636.

a Macph.
107.

1696. attack him with an armed party, consisting of forty men, in the midst of his guards; the day and place were appointed for the execution of their purpose, but an unexpected discovery baffled their views. Fisher, one of their party, communicated the whole to the earl of Portland; and Pendergrass, another of them, confirmed it. A panic seized the conspirators, and some fled; but others were seized in their beds.

a Macph.
198.
The king
acquaints
the parlia-
ment with
it.

The king informed the parliament of the danger which had threatened his life, of the flight of the persons seized, and of the intended invasion; both houses lost at once their bad humour in the danger to which the life of the king had been exposed. They sent a joint address to the throne, full of expressions of the most unlimited zeal and loyalty. They published to all the world, that they would revenge the king's death, should it so happen on all his enemies, and their adherents; and promised they would give all

all possible dispatch to public business; and desired the king would seize, upon the present occasion, all such persons as he should think fit to apprehend; and various resolutions were formed in support of this address: and thus the imprudence of William's enemies confirmed him on a throne, on which he had tottered before.

1696.

a Macph,
109.

This unsuccessful under-plot of a few zealots, was sufficient to ruin all the present projects of the late king. But the seeds of disappointment were already sown in France itself. The adherents of James had declared it impossible for them to rise, till he himself should land. Lewis gave positive orders, that not a single vessel should sail, till certain intelligence of an insurrection should arrive from England. The late king was perplexed beyond measure by this insurmountable difficulty. He derived his whole hopes from fortune; and, as usual, he was deceived. The appearance of an

Which
disap-
points the
invasion.

1696.

English fleet put an end to a design which seemed to have been already broken by a storm which shattered the French transports in the port of Calais. The English bombarded Calais, and the French, instead of preparing for a descent on England, became anxious for their own coast. James, in a disconsolate state of mind, returned at length to St. Germain; he saw his project broken, his hopes blasted, and his friends ruined; Charnock, King, Keys, Sir John Friend, Sir William Perkins, and others, were condemned, most of them upon full and decisive evidence, and were executed.

2 Macph.

310.

Charnock

and others

executed.

III.

The conspiracy against the king was confounded, on the present occasion, with the intended invasion from France; and transferred the guilt of assassins to men, who meditated only an insurrection.

1697.

331.

William

agrees with

Lewis that

James's

son shall

succeed

him.

The peace of Ryswic, which took place this year, brought on a private agreement between William and the French king;

king; Lewis, unwilling to desert James, proposed that the late king James's son should succeed to the crown of England, after the death of William. The king, with little hesitation, agreed to this request. He even solemnly engaged to procure the repeal of the act of settlement; and to declare, by another act, the said late king's son his successor in the throne. In this concession, William deserted the principles to which he owed his throne. The projected peace was to secure the crown in his possession for his life. He had no children, and but few relations; and those he never loved. Though James had displeased the nation, he had not injured William, and the son had offended neither.

The deliverance of the nation does not appear by this act to have been the sole object of William; but the same imprudence which lost the crown to the late king, excluded for ever his posterity from the throne. He told the French

1697.

a Macph.
233.
Is prevented by
James's
scruples,
by which a
peace is
confirmed.

1597.
Macph.
133.

king, who had made the first overture to him on this important subject, that though he could suffer, with patience, the usurpation of his nephew upon his right, he would never permit his own son to be guilty of the same injustice. That should himself be capable of consenting to such a disgraceful proposal, by putting by his own right in favour of his son, he might be justly reproached with departing from his avowed principles, and with ruining monarchy, by rendering elective an hereditary crown. Besides that, though he should consent, William could only promise a thing, which he was not, perhaps, able to perform. Thus the demand of France, for the eventual succession of the pretender being removed, the re-establishment of peace, between Lewis and William, became absolutely certain.

134.

137.
William
attempts
to retain
part of his
army.

The king's return was amidst the acclamations of the populace; intemperance and riot were mixed with solemn thanks-

thanksgiving. At the meeting of parliament the king had communicated to his ministry, his wishes to retain a great part of his standing army in pay, after the re-establishment of peace; and the pulse of the nation was tried by publications on that subject. The people's fears were alarmed; they saw with a degree of indignation, that those who had most violently opposed a standing force in former times, were the chief supporters of that unpopular measure in the present reign.

The king's speech in parliament brought this matter before them. The different views of all parties centered in one point. They were supported by the people in their opposition to the crown; and, in a committee of the whole house, it was resolved, without a division, that all the land forces raised since September 1680, should be paid and disbanded. The warmth expressed in these debates excited disgust on both sides. The king was highly

1691

said on 1
11th of
1680about
of the
1680

a Macph.
139.
Which is
refused,
and the
land forces
ordered to
be dis-
banded.

140

1697.
a Macph.
143.
The king
is disgust-
ed.

highly displeased, and said he was doubtful, whether he could support either his government at home, or any of his alliances abroad, in his present despicable state. That, had he foreseen such returns for his services, he would never have meddled with English affairs; and that he was weary of governing a nation, who, through their jealousy of the crown, exposed their sovereign to contempt, and themselves to danger.

Sunder-
land re-
signs,

The earl of Sunderland, with all his eloquence, had supported the arguments for a standing army; and being deemed the author of this measure, and finding that both parties were alike his enemies, he resigned the office of lord chamberlain, and retired into the country.

1698.
159.
William
displeased,
and talks
again of
resigning.

A bill being brought in for the reduction of the army, the opposition made by the friends of William, tended only to furnish the enemies with an opportunity of being severe on his character and conduct, which fretted the mind of

Wil-

William, naturally peevish, melancholy, and severe. His resentment, on this occasion, so far overcame his prudence, that he alternately yielded to fits of passion, or sunk under a load of despondence; he is even said to have formed a resolution of abandoning the kingdom: and that he had prepared a speech, in which he was to request of the two houses to name such persons as they should think fit, to manage a government, that he himself was resolved no longer to hold. As he had twice since his expedition into England, derived advantage from the same threat, the expedient became too stale either to alarm the fears of the people, or to gain the favour of parliament. Prudence, at length, overcame some part of his resentment; and, after having informed his parliament, that he thought himself obliged, for his own justification, and in discharge of the trust reposed in his hands, to declare plainly his judgment, that the nation was left too much

ex-

1699. exposed, and that he deemed it incumbent on them to provide such a force, as should be necessary for the safety of the kingdom, and the preservation of the peace of Europe, he passed the bill with some amendments.

1699.
Macph.
172.
The parliament
breaks up
in an
hostile
manner.

The obstructions attending the service of the crown in the last sessions occasioned great changes this year in the higher departments; a sullen humour prevailed through the kingdom; and though the two parties, that divided the nation, were implacable with regard to each other, they seemed both to agree to oppose jointly the king.

171.

176.

In Scotland despair was added to rage and resentment; and a general ferment seemed to threaten a general revolt. In England the Irish forfeitures and state of the nation increased the ferment of the commons, and the whole session of parliament, became hostile throughout. The manner of proceeding in parliament was more disgusting to the king, than

that the proceedings, in themselves, were either repugnant to his authority, or hurtful to his character.

1700.

These discontents still continued favourable to the views of the late king, but they were not capable of rousing him from the lethargy into which he had fallen, ever since the treaty of Ryswic. Rendered careless by misfortunes, weighed down with years, and unmanned by his own religious enthusiasm, he had resigned every expectation of regaining his crown. He however seemed still to adhere to the resolution which he had formed of transporting himself into England, in case William had yielded to the disorders that had long threatened his dissolution, as was generally expected.

a Macph.

189.

James becomes resigned.

The death of the duke of Gloucester, the only son of the princess Anne, James's daughter, and the only person after her, who was included in the new settlement of the crown, seemed to favour James's expectations, and a prevailing report, that the

Death of the duke of Gloucester.

1700.

the princess had sent, very clandestinely, an express to notify the demise of her son to her father, might contribute to lessen the concern of William for the loss which the kingdom had sustained.

1701.
2 Marph.
199.
Settle-
ment of
the crown
made
afresh,

On the 3d of March in this year, the commons resolved, that to preserve the peace and happiness of the kingdom, and to secure the established religion, there was an absolute necessity for making a fresh declaration of the limitations of the crown in the protestant succession; and that provision should be made for the security of the rights and liberties of the subject; and, on the 12th it was resolved, that all affairs with regard to government, cognizable in the privy council, should be transacted there, and signed by the members, that no person whatsoever, not a native of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or dominions belonging to these kingdoms, or who was not born of English parents beyond seas, though such persons be naturalized, should

200.

should be capable of receiving any grant from the crown, or office under the king. That in the event of the crown's descending or being transferred to a foreigner, the English nation should not be obliged, without the consent of parliament, to enter into any war, for the defence of territories not depending on the crown of England; that whosoever should come to the possession of the throne, should join in communion with the church of England; that no pardon should be pleadable to any impeachment in parliament; that no person, who should thereafter come to the crown, should go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without the consent of parliament; that no person who should possess an office under the king, or receiving a pension from the crown, should be capable of serving in the house of commons; that the commission of the judges should be rendered permanent, and their salaries ascertained and established; that the

1791

princess Sophia, duchess dowager of Hanover, should be declared the next in succession to the crown of England after the reigning king, the princess of Denmark, and the heirs of their respective bodies; that the further limitation of the crown should be restricted to the princess Sophia, and the heirs of her body, being protestants; and that, upon these resolutions, a bill should be brought in before the house, which was accordingly done and passed.

a Macph.
201.

An express act of parliament had before excluded all Roman catholics from the succession; the princess Sophia was therefore the nearest protestant of the royal line, as grand-daughter of James the first.

206.
Party re-
sections.

The commons, who had evidently secured the liberties of the subject, by the limitations in the act of settlement, were censured as attached to a system of arbitrary power; those who called a protestant successor to the crown, were accused of favouring the popish line; and men

who

who endeavoured to appear as good husbands of the treasure of the nation, were stigmatized as enemies to the public. But an undeviating attention to justice can scarce ever be expected from men inflamed with the prejudices of party. The whigs and tories were inflamed against each other to such a degree of inveteracy, and were so equally poised, that without declaring for either, William had a prospect of commanding both parties; even after the prorogation of parliament, when William had resolved to pass over into Holland, he left the government in such mixed hands, that no judgment could be formed to which party he most inclined.

On the 7th of September, the triple or grand alliance was signed with the emperor against France, in which the design avowed, was for procuring satisfaction to the emperor, in the Spanish succession; and sufficient security for the dominion and commerce of the allies.

L

Lewis,

1701.

a Macph:
208.

209.

212.
The triple
alliance.

1701.
a Macph.
214.
Death of
the late
king
James, and
of king
William.

Lewis, by the death of the late king James about this time, acknowledged his son king of Great Britain, and prepared for a war with England. William acquainted the parliament therewith, who united with him in the means of supporting a war when William's death, which had been expected, was hastened by a fall from his horse.

221.

He was worn out with vexation, as well as with the vigilance necessary for the management of the affairs of a nation, who, amidst all their professions of regard, were, in a great measure, averse from his manner of governing.

PERIOD

PERIOD THE FOURTH.

From 1702 to 1716.

THE accession of Anne to the crown had removed, to a distance, the hopes of the court of St. Germain's. Though Marlborough had been raised by king William, in the preceding year, to the command of the British troops in Flanders; he listened, after the death of James the II^d, to the solicitations made in favour of his son; a kind of principle, in favour of the family of Stuart, had been mixed with this nobleman's aversion to William; and had their restoration to the throne suited with Marlborough's own private interest, there is scarce a doubt, but he would have preferred the race of Stuarts to any other race of sovereigns. Godolphin had been long attached to the same cause;

Macph.
232.
Anne's
succession,
and at-
tachments
to the
cause of
the pre-
tender.

1702.

and had expressed the same attachment to the son, since his father's death. The natural timidity of Godolphin's disposition had prevented him from making any vigorous exertions in favour of the excluded family, till the death of William, and then the thing itself became more difficult, and his zeal too was rendered more cool, by the prospect of advantage, which he derived from the new reign.

2 Macph:

233.

All parties
unite in
support of
the pre-
sent go-
vernment.

The state of opinions had actually changed in England with the state of its affairs. The crown, by the death of William, had fallen almost into the old channel, being to a daughter of the late king James, and a protestant, and much attached to the church. Both parties appeared satisfied on account of its convenience, with a small deviation from the line of succession. The pretender's friends were not ignorant of the professions, which the queen had made to her father, during the greatest part of her predecessor's reign; and they endeavoured

234.

voured to flatter themselves with hopes, that she only took possession of the government to restore and confirm the crown, especially at her death, to her excluded brother. These reasons united both parties in an unanimous support of the government of the new queen, and war was declared against France the 4th of May.

In regard to the Spanish Netherlands, which were the principal causes of the French war, they affected the emperor and the Dutch greatly, but they affected us scarcely at all. Those powers were well able to have made good their frontiers, and nothing more could have been required of us, except sending the Dutch 10,000 men, which by treaty we were then obliged to do. Land wars were never our province. Had we kept up a respectable fleet, we might more effectually have advantaged ourselves, and distressed the French in an element where universal commerce may always attend us at such a crisis.

1702

War with
France.

The other
side of the
question in
answer to
the du-
chess of
Marlbo-
rough, ac-
count of
her con-
duct, p.
172.

1751.

The glorious actions which Marlborough atchieved in the land wars, during the time we are going through, left no visible traces to Britain, but Blenheim-house and a great share of the national debt; had he been unsuccessful, it is more than probable, it would have given the finishing blow to the liberties of Europe.

Macphr

234.

Scotch

affairs em-

broiled.

For the above reason, the earl of Rochester, the queen's uncle, proposed, that the English nation should only engage in the measures of the allies, as auxiliaries; and that the chief weight of the war ought to rest on those, who had most to fear from the power of France; but the earl of Marlborough was vehement for an immediate declaration of war, to be issued, by England, as a principal, and prevailed.

235.

Scotch

affairs em-

broiled.

In Scotland affairs became embroiled, intricate, and perplexed. Their discontents had uniformly subsisted, during the thirteen years of the reign of king Wil-

liam;

liam; but, by proper management, the ferment concerning the affair of Darien, had unaccountably subsided at once in January 1701; and a kind of surly tranquillity had prevailed all that year.

2702.

On the queen's accession, a new ferment arose, by continuing the old convention parliament, which had subsisted all William's reign. Fair words were by no means sufficient, either to gratify the populace, or to gain their leaders. On the contrary, an overture being made by the chancellor for settling of the crown in the protestant line, and for abjuring the pretended prince of Wales, it was rejected. The truth was, the queen herself, and her English ministers had various reasons, for wishing to keep the succession open in Scotland. The demise of the duke of Gloucester, the queen's despair of progeny, her respect for the memory of her father, and some affection for her own family, had probably

A settlement in the protestant line proposed, and rejected in Scotland.
2 Macph.

237.

238.

239.

1702.

rendered her inclined to transfer the crown at her death, to the pretended prince of Wales. Her chief minister, Godolphin, and her greatest favourite the earl of Marlborough, had added the most solemn oaths, to their promises to support the interest of king James and his son. They had renewed these promises, even since the accession of the queen had thrown the whole power of the kingdom into their hands. Though they never meant to deprive her, during her life, of the crown, should she continue to hold it under their direction and ministry.

a Macph.
247.
Marlbo-
rough
made a
duke, and
receives
other fa-
vours.

Marlborough was made a duke, and the queen requested the commons to settle, upon him and his heirs for ever, 5000l. a year out of the post-office, which she had granted him during her life, but his political delinquency, and inordinate love of money, were brought to account by the two great parties, which divided the nation. The queen's message was received,

received, at first, with astonishment and silence. A violent debate, at length, arose; and the result was, that they could not comply with a precedent to alienate the revenue of the crown. Marlborough's zeal for the pretender had greatly abated since queen Anne's accession. He however, kept upon fair terms with the court of St. Germain's. He had, throughout the preceding summer, expressed a warm attachment to the pretender's cause, and as a proof of his zeal, he granted passes to the pretender's agents, to inform their master of affairs in England. But though he exposed himself to the laws of his country by this conduct, he had not the good fortune to satisfy those whom he affected to serve.

The pretender's emissaries pressed Marlborough to enter into an immediate treaty; the terms of which were to leave queen Anne in possession of the crown during her own life, provided she would secure the succession to her brother at

1702.

1703.
 2 Macph.
 254.
 The queen
 is pressed
 by the
 pretender
 to treat on
 the terms
 of suc-
 cession.

her

her death. To effectuate this security, an act of occasional conformity was not thought sufficient; he therefore proposed, that the act of settlement itself should be repealed; a thing, he thought, not impracticable in the present disposition of the parliament. They further endeavoured through the same channel, to reconcile the queen herself to their views, by applying to her feelings, and proposing various expedients. To facilitate the execution of the scheme, which they earnestly wished her to adopt, they insinuated, that the putting her brother in an immediate possession of the crown of Scotland would be the most effectual means for securing to him the eventual succession of the crown of England; the pretender's agents endeavoured to confirm Marlborough in his cause, by engaging his ambition. The duke's only son died at Cambridge on the 20th of February in this year, and colonel Sackville proposed to the duke a marriage between the

pre-

1703.

2 Macph.
255.

pretender and his third daughters. How this proposal was received is uncertain, but the negotiation seems not to have ended with this year.

The affair of the settlement was again brought into the Scotch parliament in several modes; and occasioned uncommon heats, during which no supply, for the support of either the civil or military establishment, had been granted to the crown; so that, when the commissioner proposed that the supply should take place of all other business, the opposition stated the vote, "Overture for subsidies, or overtures for liberty;" and the commissioner still insisting on his point, the earl of Roxburg arose and said, that, if there was no other way of supporting the natural and undeniable privilege of parliament, the friends of their country were resolved to demand justice with their swords in their hands; whereupon a general rage transported the house into a degree of fury. The commissioner

became

1703.
1704.

2 Macph.
264.
The
Scotch
parlia-
ment
break up
without
making
any settle-
ment.

1703.

became apprehensive of his own safety, and therefore, having promised that the overtures for liberty should be the first business of the next session, he touched the bills that were ready with the scepter, and suddenly prorogued this refractory parliament.

1704.
2 Macph.
302.
Marlborough, &c.
keep up
their cor-
respon-
dence
with the
pretender.

The successes at Donawert and Blenheim had raised Marlborough to the highest pitch of credit, whereby all parties endeavoured to gain him. On the one hand, a marriage was projected between the duke's daughter and the electoral-prince, in order to gain the duke to the protestant succession; but this, with other schemes of the like kind, were dropt as difficult and uncertain. On the other hand, though Marlborough and Godolphin had not lately appeared warm in the cause of the excluded family, they still maintained a secret connection, and encouraged private interviews with the agents of the court at St. Germain's. The duke, though perhaps not so sin-

became

cere

cere in his professions as Godolphin, was less guarded in his conduct. In April, while he was in Germany, he regretted the duke of Berwick's absence in Portugal, as he ought to be nearer Britain, to take advantage of such events as might arise in favour of the pretender. He gave, at the same time, the most solemn assurances of his unalterable fidelity and attachment to the excluded family; and directed their agents to apply to the lord Godolphin, upon any emergency that might arise during his own absence in the campaign.

The act of settlement was this year passed, with much difficulty, in Scotland; wherein a provision was made, that the successor should be a protestant, and of the royal line of Scotland; but that the person appointed should not be, at the same time, successor to the crown of England. This put a stop to a proposed descent in Scotland from France, if matters should have come to a rupture between

Macph.
306.
Scotch
succession
declared
in the pro-
testant
line, but
not to the
person who
succeeds in
England.

1704

between the parliament of Scotland and the English ministry. The memorial to the French minister was now changed, and purported, that an attempt on England would be less impracticable, and more decisive, than to carry the war into Scotland; and that England being destitute of troops, and under the protection only of a few guards, and some new levies, dispersed over the face of the country, nothing would remain to oppose the pretender but a weak princess, a timid minister, and a mercenary general; who would make a merit of fulfilling their former promises, to ensure their own interest and safety.

a Macph.
312.
Act in
England
made pre-
judicial to
the Scotch
trade with
them, till
they join
in the
union
proposed.

The two parties, during the remainder of the session of the English parliament, in debating on the act of security, which had been passed in Scotland in the preceding summer, seemed to have exchanged principles. They however agreed, that some vigorous efforts must be taken in England, to obviate the dangers arising from

from the proceedings in Scotland. The violent, on both sides, were well pleased at bottom with measures, which seemed equally calculated to promote their respective views; the one side looking upon the Scotch act as highly favourable to republican principles, the other side as being a step towards the restoration of the excluded branch of the family of Stuart, by the exclusion of the house of Hanover. They passed an act, which originated in the house of commons, but was made conformable to resolutions which had been taken in the house of lords, and which resolutions had been rejected by the commons, under pretence of being a money bill. The act purported that no Scotsmen, not residing in England and Ireland, should enjoy the priviledges of Englishmen, until an union should be made, or the succession settled, as in England. That the bringing in of cattle from Scotland should be prevented. That her majesty's ships should be ordered to seize

1704.

seize such Scottish ships as they should find trading with France; and that the exportation of English wool into Scotland should be carefully hindered.

The violent part of the house of commons had rejected the lords bill, in hopes of provoking the lords into a resentment, which might defeat the whole affair. But the lords were aware of the design, and disappointed them, by passing the bill without amendments, and even almost without debate.

Macph.
314.
Marlbo-
rough re-
warded
for his
services.

This unanimity, which was apparently forced, assumed an appearance of being sincere, in acknowledging the important services of the duke of Marlborough. He was congratulated by both houses, and their expressions of thanks were followed by more solid marks of their favour. In consequence of a message from the queen, an act was passed without opposition, confirming to the duke and his heirs, the interest of the crown, in the honour and manor of Woodstock, and hun-

hundred of Wooton, and in clearing from
incumbrance the lieutenancy and ran-
gership of the parks, with the rents and
profits of the manor and hundreds, which
had been already given away for two
lives.

While the duke of Marlborough was
thus publicly gratified by the queen and
both parties, he continued to make secret
professions and protestations of zeal for
the interest of the excluded family. But
when the duchess of Tyrconnel urged
him to agree upon particulars, he so-
lemnly assured her, that, without descend-
ing to circumstances, or fixing the time,
he would do every thing which honour
and justice demanded at his hands. Lord
Godolphin himself, notwithstanding his
natural caution, at the same time gave
a proof of the continuance of his zeal for
the excluded family, by insinuating to
their agents, that he would search for
an opportunity to pay a part, at least, of
M the

1704

1704.
a Macph.
315.
Marlbo-
rough
professes
his zeal
for the
excluded
family,
but de-
clines to
enter into
particu-
lars.

1705.

the arrears of the jointure due to the exiled queen.

s Macph.

321.

Disputed
elections
to parlia-
ment.

A new election to parliament occasioned great contests and animosities between parties, and brought on tumult, clamour, and confusion, which were raised to an unusual height.

330.

Scotch act
for treat-
ing about
the union.

The temper of the Scotch parliament suffered suddenly such a manifest change, that the secret distribution of English money was much suspected. The act for treating concerning an union with England was passed without any considerable amendment; and this important business being over, and the supplies granted, the parliament was adjourned.

332.

English
vote that
religion is
not in
danger.

The violence of parties perpetually alarmed the English nation with publications and pamphlets; insinuating secret conspiracies and open attacks made upon the doctrines, and against the very being of the church of England, upon which both

both houses passed a vote, that the church was in a safe and flourishing condition; and that whoever should suggest that the established religion was in danger, was an enemy to the queen, the church, and the kingdom.

1784.
a Macph.
335.

The English of parliament had addressed the queen against any progress in the important treaty of an union with Scotland, till the English act, which conditionally declared the Scots aliens, should be repealed. In order to open a way for an immediate treaty, they not only reversed the act declaring the Scots aliens, but that also, relating to the manufacture and trade of Scotland. These measures were as popular as they were necessary. For although a majority of the parliament of Scotland were already gained, by private means, the body of the people were still inflamed to a degree of fury, with regard to their independency as a nation; any backwardness therefore in the parliament of England,

They repeal their acts concerning the Scotch aliens, and trade with them.

1705. on the subject of the compulsory laws might have brought matters to extremities; and, considering the party in favour of the lineal succession among the English, a war could scarce terminate in any event short of a subversion of the settlement of the crown in the protestant line.

Macph.
338.
The re-
gency act.

The act of regency, which gave the first great security to the descent of the crown in the protestant line, was passed in this session. It formed an eventual regency of the first officers of state, upon the death of the queen, and effectually secured the kingdom, by providing a continuation of legal government, till the successor should arrive, and assert his own authority.

1706.
340.
Lord Godolphin's
duplicity.

While lord Godolphin promoted, in the face of the world, the succession of the house of Hanover, by the act of regency, he continued his intercourse with the family of Stuart; his fears of impeachment,

ment, however, prevailed over his affection for the excluded race.

1706]

While the present year was rendered remarkable abroad with military transactions of great importance and renown, it was distinguished at home by an event equally memorable in the civil line. On the 23d of July, commissioners from England and Scotland, appointed by the queen, in consequence of powers vested in her for that purpose, by the parliaments of both kingdoms, met at the Cockpit, and settled the articles of union; which purported, that the two kingdoms should be united into one, by the name of Great Britain; that the succession of the united kingdoms should remain to the princess Sophia, and the heirs of her body, being protestants; that the whole people of Britain should be represented by one parliament, in which sixteen peers and forty-five commoners, chosen for Scotland, should sit and vote; that the subjects of the united kingdoms should

2 Macph.
350.
Articles
of union
settled.

1705. enjoy a full freedom and intercourse of trade and navigation; and a reciprocal communication of all other rights, privilege, and advantages belonging to the subjects of either kingdom. This great affair thus settled, suffered great alterations in Scotland.

The body of that people were utterly averse to a measure which annihilated them, in a manner, as a nation. The Jacobites demanded succours from France; and resolved to appeal from parliament to the decision of the sword.

a Macph.
351.
Lewis
sends an
agent to
know
what as-
surances can
be had of
a rising in
Scotland.

For two years past the Jacobites had made frequent proposals to the French king, to which he had paid little attention; the misfortunes of the war not having left him the power of giving effectual aid. To satisfy himself, however, concerning the solidity of the assurances transmitted repeatedly from Scotland, he sent thither colonel Hooke with letters from himself, and the pretender, to the leaders of the male-contents, in August

1705;

1705; but the colonel's vanity and arrogance disgusted them, and they were unwilling to trust themselves in his hands. They, however, sent general assurances by him of their fidelity, and promised their utmost exertions in favour of the excluded family, should the French king land the pretender in Scotland, with a force sufficient to protect his person, till his friends should assemble in arms.

On the colonel's return back into France, the Jacobites, having found the duke of Leeds, lord Grenville, and others, more cautious than themselves, and unwilling to agree to any attempt in favour of the pretender, during the life and reign of queen Anne, sent captain Stratton, as their agent, into France to enquire into the real dispositions of the court of Versailles. The Scots, in particular, being beyond measure averse to the union, resolved to hazard every thing to accomplish their views. Stratton was well received by the court of Versailles;

1706.

The English Jacobites not disposed during the queen's life;

but the Scots (averse to the union) resolve to hazard every thing.

1796.

The bat-
tles of
Ramilies
and Turin
prevent
them.

but the battles of Ramilies and Turin had disconcerted all their measures. Lewis declared, that he could spare neither men nor money in the present untoward state of his affairs; that, however, he would search for a more favourable conjuncture, and effectually support the cause of the excluded family. With these assurances, and with letters from the pretender to the leaders of his party, Stratton returned, and the Jacobites found themselves obliged to abandon the fate of the union to their efforts, in conjunction with the country party, in the approaching session of parliament.

a Macph.
354.
Violence
of the par-
ties in
Scotland.

During the debates, which ran high in the Scotch parliament, the mob rose at Edinburgh, and committed every species of outrage and extravagance. Those who opposed the treaty of union were received with the acclamations of the populace every where; and when the parliament proceeded to approve of the articles, the populace, roused to a degree

of

of fury, throughout the kingdom, threatened to come in a body to Edinburgh to dissolve a parliament, which, they said, was ready to betray their country; and, had they not been prevented by the inclemency of the weather, were determined to pour from every quarter to Edinburgh, to tear to pieces the obnoxious part of their representatives.

The prudence, timidity, or, according to the Jacobites, the treachery and private views of the duke of Hamilton, by disconcerting the opposition, were the chief springs on which the success of the union turned. However, after many angry debates, the country party and most of the Jacobites, in disgust or despair, left the town in January, and such articles as had not been hitherto approved, were carried with little opposition.

The terms of the union were by no means calculated to flatter the pride of the Scots, as an independent people; but

1706

2 Macph.
358.
The union
passes the
Scotch
parlia-
ment by
the deser-
tion of the
opposers.

360.
The union
better for
England
than Scot-
land.

1706. but that great event promised security to
 Party ani- the tranquility of England. In the animosities
 shameful. fity of parties, all regard for the public
 was lost; and a kind of mean selfishness,
 which scarce deserved to be dignified with
 the name of avarice, took possession of
 every breast, and marked the age with
 indelible infamy.

1707.
 a Macph.
 374.
 The
 Scotch en-
 raged, and
 the Eng-
 lish mini-
 ster un-
 concern-
 ed.

The male-
 contents
 discour-
 aged by
 France.

The generality of the Scotch nation
 were loud in their complaints of the
 union, and wanted nothing but leaders,
 to appeal from their parliament to the
 decision of the sword. The minister of
 England, in the mean time, either from
 negligence or design, had made no pre-
 parations against a sudden incursion of a
 people whom he knew to be inflamed
 to a degree of madness. The court of
 France, instead of listening to the earnest
 solicitations of the male-contents, in send-
 ing the pretender, with a force sufficient
 to protect his person, to Scotland, dis-
 patched thither colonel Hooke, with in-
 structions more calculated to depress
 their

their spirits, than rouse them to arms.

All the nobility and gentry to the north of the Forth, and many whose estates lay to the south of that river, received him with gladness, and expressed their readiness to take up arms for the exiled family. Their enthusiasm in favour of the pretender, and aversion to the union were so great, that though it was apparent Hooke's object was to engage them in every thing, and the French king in nothing, they signed a general memorial, referring implicitly the expected aid from France to the generosity of Lewis the XIVth. The memorial signified their earnest desire, that the pretender should be immediately sent to Scotland; and affirmed, that upon his arrival, he should be received, without opposition, as king; and that the established government would instantly vanish without making the least effort for its own support. Out of the great number of men that were to be led by his adherents to his standard, they

3707)

Scotch
proposals
to the pre-
tender.

2 Macph.
375.

1757. they proposed to select 25,000 foot and 5000 horse ; these they promised to clothe, to arm, and to furnish with provisions, till they should march into England. But, upon that event they insinuated, that a monthly subsidy ought to be paid by France, should the war be prolonged for any time, by the resistance of the English nation to the pretender. They solemnly assured the French king, that the whole kingdom of Scotland, from their aversion to the union, were unanimous in their wishes for the restoration of the exiled family. The memorial expressed an enthusiasm for an immediate insurrection, which Lewis, had he been more attentive to his own interest, might have greatly improved to his advantage.

2 Macph.
376.
All
thrown
away at
the court
of Ver-
sailles.

The pretender's agent endeavoured to establish the probability of the success of an insurrection in Scotland, but all was lost on the court of Versailles. This correspondence was no secret in England,

land, but it passed without any animadversion; no notice was taken of public rejoicings celebrated at Edinburgh, and other parts of Scotland, on the birth day of the pretender. The Scots, considering all government in a manner dissolved, by what they called the illegality of the union, were at no pains to conceal their sentiments; yet such was the supineness of the minister, that he seemed to court an insurrection, and even an invasion.

During this suspicious conduct of Godolphin, he and Marlborough continued to make their usual assurances of fidelity and attachment to the court of St. Germain's. The conduct of Marlborough was as unaccountable as his power was great. The duchess of Marlborough (says Voltaire) governed queen Anne, and the duke, her husband, governed the state. He had the treasury at his command, through the means of the treasurer, lord Godolphin, whose son had married

1707.

2 Macph.
378.
Marlborough's
great power and
unaccountable
conduct.

7 Volt. 169.

married one of his daughters. His son in law, Sunderland, who was secretary of state, submitted every thing in the cabinet to him; and the queen's household, where his wife had an unlimited authority, was at his devotion. He was master of the army, while he had the disposal of all posts. It is not unworthy of history to add, that the duke and duchess were the two handsomest persons of their time, and that this advantage contributes not a little to impose upon the multitude, when accompanied with dignities and honour.

The duke had more interest at the Hague than the pensionary; and had great influence in Germany, he had always been successful as a negociator and general, and enjoyed a more extensive share of power and reputation, than had ever been the lot of any other private man. He could likewise strengthen his power by the immense riches he had acquired, during his having the command. I have heard

heard his widow say (continues Voltaire), that, after he had given fortunes to his four children, he had remaining, independent of any gifts from the crown, 70,000*l.* per annum, clear money. Had not his frugality been equal to his greatness, he might have formed a party in the kingdom, that queen Anne could not easily have overthrown; and had his wife been a little more complaisant, the queen would never have broken her chains. But the duke could never get the better of his thirst for riches, nor the duchess of her capricious temper; the queen loved her with a tenderness that went even to submission, and giving up of all will.

Notwithstanding this appearance of firmness in the fabric reared by Marlborough, it was secretly undermined, in a manner that threatened its fall. Mrs. Masham having supplanted the duchess of Marlborough in the affections of the queen; Mr. Harley, who had been some years

1707.

2 Marsh.
378.
His power
under-
mined by
Mrs. Ma-
sham and
Mr. Har-
ley.

1707. years secretary of state, and in a considerable degree of credit with the queen, strengthened his own interest, with the assistance of Mrs. Masham, and presuming on the manifest change in the mind of the sovereign, began to act no longer in dependence on the minister.

9 Volt. 162.

Voltaire remarks, that a pair of gloves of a particular fashion, which the duchess refused the queen, and a jar of water that she let fall, in the queen's presence, upon lady Masham's gown by an affected mistake, changed the face of affairs in Europe.

1708.
s Macph.
387.
The weak
efforts of
France to-
wards an
invasion
strengthen
the English
ministry.

While these intrigues, and the struggles attending them, created disturbances at home; a sudden alarm from abroad, by terrifying at once the sovereign and the people, strengthened the hands of the ministry, and disappointed the views of the discontented.

A small
French
fleet not
suspected
by the
English,

The court of France had almost always been averse to an invasion of Great Britain, and particularly in the preceding summer

summer. They, however, suffered themselves, in appearance, to be reconciled in the winter to that measure, through the vehement solicitation of the Scots; and the pressing instances of the excluded family. A squadron of five small men of war, equipped for action, and two fitted for transports, together with twenty-one frigates, were prepared at Dunkirk, while several battalions were ordered to march thither with all expedition, and such secrecy, that, when they came first to be known, it was uncertain where the storm would fall. Men could scarce believe, than an invasion of Great Britain was seriously meant by the enemy, without a fleet of capital ships; and therefore the states began to be extremely apprehensive of a descent on the coasts of Zealand.

The English ambassador at the Hague obtained the first intelligence of its real destination; which was confirmed by news of the arrival of the pretender at

N

Dun-

1708,

a Macph
388.
Intelli-
gence ob-
tained,
and pre-
parations
made to
receive
them.

1708.

Dunkirk, in February; this intelligence was communicated, by the queen's command, to the two houses on the 4th of March, who joined in the usual address of lives and fortunes; and preparations were made for defence.

2 Macph.
389.
The pre-
tender
goes on
board the
fleet com-
manded
by Forbin.

The pretender was embarked on board the French squadron, commanded by Mr. Forbin, who set sail on the 6th of March, and, to deceive the British admiral, should he return to his station, had placed an equal number of vessels in the road. Five thousand one hundred soldiers accompanied the pretender, with 10,000 muskets, 1000 pistols, and as many carabines. After two days of bad weather, which had weakened them by desertions, they were driven to the north of the Firth of Edinburgh on the 12th of March, whither Byng, with a squadron of forty capital ships, had pursued them. Some of Byng's ships had come up with the *Auguste*, a French man of war, and a kind of running fight began. During this

this action the pretender entreated Forbin, with the utmost earnestness, to put him on shore; being resolved, he said, to remain in Scotland, should none follow him but his own domestics. Forbin, having long argued in vain against the propriety of that measure, and having, as it is said, had positive orders, neither to land troops, nor hazard the loss of the squadron, positively refused, at last, to agree to his request. The French, in the mean time, were dispersed in their confused flight; and having suffered much hardship at sea, and lost many of their men by sickness, returned ship by ship, to Dunkirk, one only being taken.

Though this armament seems rather to have been extorted from Lewis, than intended for a serious diversion to the British arms; there was reason to believe, that the failure of the scheme, before any landing was made, proved of the utmost importance to the safety

1708.
Entreats
Forbin to
put him
on the
Scots
shore, but
is refused.

The fleet
returns to
France
without
effecting
any inva-
sion.

a Macph.
390.
But hurts
public
credit.

1708. of government, as it then stood. The state of Scotland was, in every respect, favourable to, at least, the temporary success of the design.

Many formerly averse to the Stuarts now changed.

The friends of the excluded family fomented with success, the public resentment against the union and the English government. Many, formerly averse to the restoration of the Stuarts, now desired it with the utmost vehemence, as the only means to avoid a yoke, which they deemed the more grievous and insupportable, as it was unexpected and new.

The dangers which threatened by the minister's negligence,

The English minister, with unpardonable negligence, or perhaps with design, had, at the same time, left the kingdom in a defenceless condition. The officers there were so sensible of it, that they had prepared themselves for taking refuge in Berwick. The immediate submission of the whole kingdom of Scotland, and a general acknowledgment of his authority, would therefore have been the infallible consequence of the pretender's landing

ing with the appearance of a regular force. ^{1708.}
 By invading England, which they had ^{2 Macph.}
 planned, with 17,000 foot and 3000 horse ^{391.}
 of their own nation, in conjunction with
 their French auxiliaries, and immediate-
 ly seizing Newcastle, and distressing Lon-
 don, by stopping their coal trade; the
 pretender's presence would have occa-
 sioned a total breach in public credit.
 The terrors of the affluent, the expecta-
 tions of the needy, the love of novelty,
 and so favourable an opportunity might
 have induced Marlborough, who would
 in all probability have had the chief
 command against them, to have performed
 his promises and oaths to the excluded fa-
 mily, and unite all parties to a restoration.

Wild as these expectations of the Scotch ^{392.}
 Jacobites may now appear, they were
 deemed by no means extravagant in the
 eyes of men, acquainted with the state
 of the kingdom, and the disposition of
 the times. It seemed so practicable to
 Marlborough, that he blamed the court

1708.

of St. Germain's, for not having previously informed him of their design. The queen and her minister, the earl of Godolphin, were guided by passions, that favoured the most sanguine hopes of the adherents of the excluded line. Happily for the kingdom, the retreat of the French put an end to the fears of the people, and prevented, perhaps, the horrors of a civil war; some mischief, however, was effected in Britain by this impotent attempt on the part of France.

A run
upon the
bank.

A violent run upon the bank, threatened the ruin of public credit; and though the treasury, and some noblemen of wealth tendered their assistance, the evil only ceased with the terrors of the nation,

1709.
Macph.
416.
Marlbo-
rough ad-
vises the
pretender
to quit
France;

In the course of the negotiations at the Hague for a peace, the French minister, instructed by the court of St. Germain's, mentioned the concerns of the pretender to the duke of Marlborough. The duke with a want of caution, inconsistent

sistent with his usual prudence, expressed a strong desire of serving effectually the son of a king, for whom, he said, he would have spilt the last drop of his blood. He believed it would be the son's interest to remove entirely from France.

He advised the French minister to insist strenuously on payment of his mother's dowry; and the result of the whole ended in this, that, if the British parliament and nation should insist on the removal of the pretender from France, they ought to be at the expence of supporting him, with a degree of dignity and affluence.

The duke's victories having rendered France incapable, even had she been willing, to aid the cause of the pretender; the duke had long signified his desire, that that unfortunate prince should remove from the French dominions. The duke and earl of Godolphin, who was more severe in his attachment to the exiled part of the Stuarts, perceived that the greatest obstacle to the accomplishment

1709;

And the French to insist on his mother's dowry.

a Macph.

417.
And lord Godolphin hoped to extricate him from thence.

1709. of their views, proceeded from the unfurmountable aversion the people had entertained against the having a king imposed upon them by France. Godolphin said, he hoped, by management, to extricate the pretender from the hands of France, and to insure his succession to his sister's throne, by gradually reconciling the people to his character and person.

2 Macph.

418.

The pretender offers to fix himself in Scotland, but the Scotch decline it.

The pretender himself seemed sensible of this, and sent repeatedly to Scotland, to announce his fixed resolution of passing in a hired vessel into that kingdom, and to place himself in the hands of his friends; but the nobility there, who were in his interest, discouraged the project, which, they deemed, would infallibly throw him into the hands of his enemies, and totally ruin his friends. Besides, though France was in no condition to support his pretensions, she would not probably dismiss his person. Should he retire clandestinely from France, Lewis would

would most certainly stop the payment of the pittance, which was the sole support of his mother and himself, and therefore he could not enter into any project without the consent of that kingdom.

Those who promised to serve him in Britain, could not (they affirmed) effectually espouse his interest, whilst he remained in the power of a court abhorred by that nation, over whom he wished to reign.

Lewis having been pressed to undertake a Scotch expedition, told the pretender, that though he had all the inclination in the world to serve his family, and ultimately himself, by forming a diversion for the arms of the most powerful of his enemies, the thing was absolutely impracticable in the present condition of his affairs. The pretender therefore laid aside, for the time, all hopes of transporting himself into Britain, and acquainted his adherents in Scotland,

1789a

Some cannot espouse his interest while in France.

a Macph. 419. Lewis cannot assist him.

1740.

land, that they had nothing to hope from the court of Versailles.

Macph.

450.

The fall
of Marl-
borough's
interest.

453.

His con-
duct on
Sunder-
land's dis-
mission.

The imprudence of Godolphin in the attack upon Doctor Sacheverel, and the obstinacy of Marlborough against the advancement of colonel Hill, hastened their fall, and the dismissal of Sunderland from the seals. The duke's passion, on the latter occasion, overcame that coolness of behaviour and deliberate address, which supplied, in his character, the absence of great parts. When he received intelligence of the intended disgrace of Sunderland, he wrote instantly to the duke of Berwick, and offered his services to the court of St. Germain's. The exiled queen answered his letter, as the pretender, at that time, was serving the campaign in Flanders; and Villars transmitted the answer to Marlborough, by a trumpet. Though this letter had no decisive effect on Marlborough, he continued to hold a friendly communication with the pretender. In a letter

to

to the elector of Hanover at this very time, Marlborough professed his attachment to his family, with which, he said, " I consider those of my country, and " of all Europe inseparably connected; " I hope the English nation will not " permit themselves to be imposed upon " by the artifices of Harley and his associates; their conduct leaves no room " to doubt of their design of placing " the pretended prince of Wales on the " throne."

When Marlborough accused Harley of Jacobitism to the elector, he himself was busy in making professions of attachment, through the marshal de Villars, to that very pretended prince, whose succession to the throne was to have enslaved Britain.

It was told Lewis from St. Germain's, by lord Middleton, that it was a matter of indifference to him, whether high church or low church prevailed in England. Both were equally the enemies of

1710
a Macph.
457.
Marlbo-
rough's
duplicity.

458:
France
complained of for
making
no efforts
in favour
of the pre-
tender.

5710. of France, and the Jacobites themselves were highly averse to the interests of a court, who made no efforts in favour of the pretender. It was further urged to Lewis, that this was a proper time for the pretender to make his appearance in Britain. Marlborough advised Middleton in vain against any hostile attempt, which, he affirmed, could not fail of uniting all parties. He averred, that the inveteracy exhibited by every parliament, and the union which appeared among the people, upon the intelligence of any invasion, proceeded from a rooted aversion to France, more than from want of affection to the excluded family. He considered, therefore, that the pretender's removal from France, would be one of the advantages he would derive from a peace.

Marlbo-^r
rough ad-
vises a-
gainst any
attempt,
and that a
peace
would be
advanta-
geous in
the remo-
val from
France.

a Macph.
459.
The pre-
tender
wishes for
peace and
to get
from
France.

The pretender was of the same opi-
nion, and perceived that France had
scarce ever any serious intention to re-
store his family. He knew, that at pre-
sent

sent France was incapable of serving him to effect, had she even been willing. He therefore earnestly wished for peace; and no article, he said, could please him more, than the requisition of Great Britain, to remove him from the dominions of France.

All the pretender's friends, as well as the duke, assured him, that patience only was necessary to re-establish him on the British throne; and that, to detach himself from France, was the only means to reconcile the nation to his claims. But Middleton, on behalf of the pretender, notwithstanding, solicited a second invasion of Scotland, and demanded only 3000 men from the court of Versailles, and those, consisting entirely of the Irish in the French service, who could create no jealousy. They were, he said, only sufficient to protect the person of the pretender, till a treaty for his eventual succession to the throne, after the death of his sister, should be established with

17103

a Macph.
460.
His friends
are of the
same opi-
nion, but
Middle-
ton soli-
cits from
France an
invasion
into Scot-
land, to
which
Lewis
paid little
attention.

1711. the British court. To which suggestions the court of France paid little attention.

2 Macph.
481.
Pretender's proposals, in a letter to the queen.

In this year the pretender, by the advice of his friends, wrote to the queen, that to her alone he wished to owe eventually the throne of his fathers. His proposals to her were, that, with her consent, he might convey himself privately to London, during the recess of parliament, to be presented by her to her privy-council, and owned by her as prince of Wales; to accomplish which he declared he would throw himself into the hands of the British ministry, accompanied only by a single page. But whatever impressions it made on the queen, it made none on her servants.

1712.
524.
Plunket discovers a design of a Swedish invasion, and some violent attempts intended by Marlborough, Eugene, and others.

It was discovered by Plunket, that a design was on foot for marrying the pretender's sister to Charles the XIIth of Sweden, and that Charles, from a prospect of the succession to the British crown, in the right of his intended wife, would assist the pretender with a protestant

army; a scheme of this kind was defeated in 1716, as will hereafter be mentioned. He further discovered that violent attempts were formed by the duke of Marlborough, prince Eugene, baron Bothmar, and others, against the intended peace, which by the prudent conduct of Oxford were defeated.

In treating about the peace, the queen desired to be permitted to disown her brother, to satisfy the confederates. But, she agreed, that the treaty should not be understood to preclude France from aiding the pretender, in case of her own decease. Though, it was said, she wished to promote her brother's interest, she could fix upon no measure of serving, effectually, his cause. That it was utterly impossible to enter into any treaty, without confirming the settlement of the crown in the protestant line. That she had no hopes but such as arose from the French king; and surely, said she, "some reserves might be made for
the

1716

2 Macph.

548.

The queen
is desirous
of assisting
the pre-
tender's
interest,
but cannot.

571s.
a Macph.
550.

" the time to come." She expressed her terror to the pretender's friends, that France would not let him escape from her hands. The example of Forbin, who refused to land him in Scotland in 1708, was produced as a presumption, that the French king was resolved never to part with a person who might hereafter favour his own designs.

554-
Oxford in-
sinuates a
means of
assisting
the pre-
tender.

Oxford insinuated, that the pretender could not be immediately served, on account of the watchfulness of the party in opposition, and the unsurmountable prejudices of the vulgar against his family, and especially his religion; but that there was a fixed resolution formed of keeping a good correspondence with France, to enable that kingdom to favour his pretensions to the British throne.

571s.
The
queen's
senti-
ments ex-
pressed
concern-
ing him.

When the queen was urged, by the duke of Buckingham, to endeavour to break the succession in the protestant line, her answer, though it conveyed a regard for

for her brother, was suitable to good sense and prudence. "How can I serve him, my lord? He makes not the least step to oblige me in what I most desire. You know a papist cannot enjoy this crown in peace. The example of the father has no weight with the son; he prefers his religious errors to the throne of a great kingdom. How therefore can I undo what I have already done? He may thank himself for his exclusion. He knows that I love my own family better than that of any other. All would be easy should he enter the pale of the church of England. Advise him to change his religion, as that only can change the opinions of mankind, in his favour."

Whilst the elector of Hanover was harrassed with demands of money from London, the duke of Marlborough suggested another article of expence from his retreat at Antwerp. He informed

O

his

1713.
 a Macph.
 585.
 Marlbo-
 rough re-
 com-
 mends to
 the elector
 of Hano-
 ver to pay

1713.
a spy in
the pre-
tender's
court.

highness of the necessity of having a spy in the pretender's court, to observe the motions of that prince. He offered, for fifty louis d'ors a month, to find a proper person to execute that important service. He took, in the mean time, a part of this necessary function upon himself. He conveyed some intelligence to the court of Hanover. But his want of information seems to prove, that his grace was no longer trusted with the secrets of the excluded family.

Macph.
591.
The peace
of Utrecht

The general peace was signed at Utrecht the first of March in this year, whereby the French king had obliged himself to acknowledge the protestant succession, and to cease to protect, and even to abandon, the pretender.

1714.
626.
The death
of queen
Anne.

The queen, whose health had long declined, fell into a dangerous illness in the end of December 1713, and died the 1st of August in this year. Her reign was crowned with great events; but she was subject to terrors, and incapable

capable of decisive counsels, which hurt the amiableness of her character; and nothing but her irresistible popularity could have supported her authority, amidst the ferment of those distracted times.

The minds of the two parties became strangely agitated, by various expectations or fears. The adherents of the pretender had fondly imagined that the period of his restoration was near.

But the melancholy state in which Lewis was, who never had been hearty in the cause, put it out of his thoughts of kindling a war abroad, by assisting the pretender.

As soon as the queen was dead, the privy council met, and, conformable to the act of regency, the elector of Brunswick's three instruments were there produced by the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, and resident Kreyenburgh, in whose hands they were lodged, nominating the persons to be

1714.

a Macph.
638.
Lewis
unable to
assist the
pretender.

10 Tind.
324.
King
George
proclaim-
ed in
England
without
any distur-
bance.

1914. added as lords justices to the seven great officers of the realm; after opening them, a proclamation was issued, declaring the elector of Brunswic king. On the 1st of August in this year, he was proclaimed at the usual places, in the usual manner, during which there was not the least disturbance given in any place; except that the mayor of Oxford had received a letter, brought him by a person in a bachelor's gown, which required him to proclaim the pretender. He communicated the same to the vice-chancellor, and both of them transmitted copies of it to secretary Bromley, one of their representatives in parliament for the university. The vice-chancellor offered a reward of 100l. to the discoverer of the author.

358.
The Scots
design an
insurrec-
tion.

The Scots began to shew their discontent soon after the queen's death. The regency having issued a proclamation for a reward of 100,000l. for seizing the pretender, received information that

that his friends in Scotland designed an insurrection; but that their chiefs, after having held some consultations together, had retired to their lurking places, while some of the highlanders had appeared in a body near Fort William in Inverlochy, and, after stealing some cattle and proclaiming the pretender in the night, had returned in confusion.

On the 3d of September the earl of Mar had a meeting at Aboyne in Scotland with several of the nobility and gentry of that kingdom, where they resolved to draw together immediately what number of men they could, and to advance towards the south, accordingly Mar caused the pretender's standard to be set up the 6th of that month at Brae Mar, and, in the orders for so doing, styled himself lieutenant-general of the king's forces in Scotland.

Several vessels, having arrived about this time at Arboeth from Havre de

O 3

Grace,

1744

1715.
11 Tind.
22, 92.
1 Hist. Reg.
96.
The earl
of Mar
sets up the
preten-
der's stan-
dard, and
receives
supplies;

11 Tind.
92.

1713. Grace, laden with arms and ammunition, were conveyed to Mar, with assurances, that the pretender would soon be in person among them, so that though the death of Lewis the XIVth, about this time, had struck a damp upon their proceedings; yet, those assurances and a declaration, which arrived from the pretender, being made public for raising forces to join his standard, their spirits revived, and they were made to expect, that they would be well supported by a like rebellion in England.

Conspira-
cy to sur-
prise
Edin-
burgh.

A conspiracy had, been formed at Edinburgh to surprise the castle, which was to have been put in execution the 8th of September. The conspirators did, at the time appointed, rendezvous at the foot of the castle wall; and a rope was let down and fixed to one of the ladders; but an officer of the garrison surprised the soldier that was drawing it up; and, having given the alarm, the conspirators fled,

fled, leaving their ladders and firelocks, and four of their party behind them.

The rebels under Mar, encreased in a few days to several thousands, and possessed themselves of Aberdeen, Dundee, Perth, and other places; in all which they proclaimed the pretender, and seized the public monies, ravaging the country without controul. The duke of Argyle, who was sent to command the king's forces, not being strong enough to make head against them, posted his troops under the cannon of the castle of Stirling, to defend that pass, and prevent the rebels further progress southward.

About the same time a conspiracy was discovered in England, by which an insurrection was intended in the West; and Bristol and Plymouth were to be seized. At St. Columb, in Cornwall, the pretender was proclaimed; but two of the rebels being seized, and a reward proclaimed for securing the rest,

1715

The rebels
possess
them-
selves of
Aber-
deen,
Dundee,
Perth, &c.

11 Tind.
110, 115.
Conspira-
cy in
England.

1715. all things were kept quiet in those parts.

1Hist. Reg.
98.
The
Scotch rise
and join
the Eng-
lish north-
wards.

In the north of England Mr. Forster, a representative in parliament for Northumberland, together with the earl of Derwentwater and lord Middleton, assembled their friends in arms, in the beginning of October, at Alnwick, where they proclaimed the pretender, Forster taking upon himself the title of general of the forces.

They are
disap-
pointed of
seizing
Newcastle,

Their first design was to have seized Newcastle, but were prevented by the townsmen's preparations to defend it. The government having early notice of this revolt, ordered Hotham's regiment of foot, and three regiments of dragoons to Newcastle, with lieutenant-general Carpenter to command them.

and of
being
joined by
Mackin-
toth's
highlan-
ders.

Being thus disappointed, the rebels marched to Warkworth, Felton, and Hexham, where they were again disappointed of being joined by about 1500 Scotch highlanders, commanded by Mackintosh, who

who, from Fifeshire, had passed over the Firth in boats, and proceeded towards Edinburgh the 13th of October, but, being informed that the gates were shut, and the inhabitants in arms, prepared to defend the place, they fled off to Leith.

The duke of Argyle, on receiving advice of Mackintosh's motions, came from Stirling to Edinburgh on the 15th, and the rebels thereupon, taking the opportunity of the low ebb, marched off by the lands eastwards to the earl of Wintoun's seat, called Seaton-house, in Lothian. The duke of Argyle returned to Stirling, to attend the motions of Mar, who was removed from Perth. Mackintosh continued at Seaton-house till the 19th, and then marched southward to Duns, within ten miles of Berwick.

On the 8th of October lord Wintoun had left Seaton-house, and joined the earl of Carnwarth and viscount Kenmure at Moffat, in Annandale, where they had formed

1745.

Duke of Argyle marches to Edinburgh to surprise Mackintosh, and is disappointed.

1 Hist. Reg. 104. Mackintosh joins the rebels under Forster.

1715.

formed a small body of men under the command of Kenmure. On the 20th they were joined by Forster and about 500 of his men, and three troops of Scotch horse, into which they formed themselves at Wooler; and, at Kelso, Mackintosh, with his highland foot, joined them; but, at Laugholm 5 or 600 of the highlanders, who could not be prevailed on to march into England, left them, and returned back into their own country.

11 Tind.

162.

They all
move for-
wards into
England.

The English gentlemen were grown positive for an attempt upon their own country, pretending they had letters from their friends in Lancashire inviting them thither; and assuring them that there would be a general insurrection upon their appearing; and that 20,000 men would immediately join them. This resolution of the English changed the design of continuing in Scotland, and both English and Scotch, under the command of Forster, marched into Eng-

land

1 Hist.

Reg. 10.

land to lord Lonsdale's house, which they plundered, and seized all the serviceable horses they could light on. At Lancaster they seized and fitted with carriages seven or eight pieces of cannon. On the 9th of November, from Lancaster the rebel horse marched on to Preston, where the foot came up to them on the 10th; having been joined, in their several marches, by about 1500 Lancashire men. They seized the town of Preston without opposition, Stanhope's regiment of dragoons and part of a regiment of militia, that were quartered there, having thought fit to retire to Wigan. In their way they proclaimed the pretender, and seized the public monies, exacted taxes, and took prisoners; the natural consequences of such measures, and the incidental distractions of such times.

General Carpenter, with three regiments of dragoons, pursued them; and general Willes, from the west of England, arriving

1715.
Lord
Lonsdale's
house
plundered
and horses
and cannon
seized
at Lan-
caster.

They take
Preston
and barrica-
doe the
out parts,
and plant
cannon
upon
them.

11 Tind.
166.
Hist. Reg.
107.
Are sur-
rounded

1843.
ten re-
giments
under
Willes and
Carpenter;

169

the first
regiment
of foot
marched
on to
Wigan,
where
a fifth
regiment
of dragoons
and one
regiment
of horse
were in
quarters;

and are
all com-
pelled to
surrender
at discre-
tion.

arriving at Manchester, sent an express from thence to Carpenter, that they might act in concert against the rebels. On the 11th of November Willes, with four regiments of dragoons, and Preston's regiment of foot, marched on to Wigan, where a fifth regiment of dragoons and one regiment of horse were in quarters; and from thence, they all marched forwards to Preston. The pass, which is within a mile of Preston, over the Ribble was found deserted by the rebels, who permitted Willes's troops to draw up to the top of the hill, and view the avenues without the least disturbance. Willes found them strongly barricaded, and that they had also planted two pieces of cannon at each barricade; the rebels having posted themselves in the streets and bye-lanes, and in such houses as were properest for galling the enemy.

The proper dispositions being made for the several attacks on the barricadoes, and to prevent the rebels sallying out upon

upon them, or making their escape, the attacks began; and general Carpenter being arrived with his three regiments to their assistance, and the rebels, thus surrounded, the latter, to the number of, near 1500, after obtaining time to consider their situation, were compelled to surrender at discretion.

The earl of Mar, about the latter end of October, was joined by the earl of Seaforth, general Gordon, and others, with their respective clans, insomuch that he had formed an army of about 9000 men, and thought himself strong enough to put his design in execution of passing the Forth to join his friends, and pass into England. Accordingly he left the governor of Perth sufficiently guarded; and being furnished with all necessaries for a long march, he set forwards on the 10th of November, and the next day, being the same day of the capitulation at Preston, he met the duke of Argyle near Dumblain, and came to

an

1713.

1: Tind.
176.
1Hist.
Reg. 131.
Mar de-
signs for
England,
and is
disap-
pointed.

1715.
The battle
of Dum-
blain.

an engagement with him, and by their several accounts of the battle, each ascribed to themselves the victory. The right of each army drove the left of the other's army off the field of battle, and each took prisoners, colours, standards, &c. But the duke alone secured all the rebels bread waggons, and five tumbrils with ammunition, and continued under arms on the field of battle till next morning; the rebels having, for want of cover and victuals, in the night retreated back to Perth; whereupon the duke returned to Stirling, being the only pass by which the rebels could come southward, but both remained in a state of inaction, the remaining part of November and all December.

Hist. Reg:
187.
Suther-
land takes
Inverness
from the
rebels,
which
proves a
capital
blow.

The earl of Seaforth, chief of the Mackenzies, was possessed of Inverness; from which place the earl of Sutherland, with 3 or 4000 men, drove him towards the highlands, and thereby separated him, with 200 horse and three battalions

lions of his own men, from the earl of Mar; besides securing an important pass northward, which proved a capital blow to the rebels.

This was the posture of affairs in Scotland when the pretender himself arrived there: he came, in seven days, from Dunkirk, on board a French ship of eight guns, and landed at Peterhead on the 22d of December, with only six gentlemen.

On the 27th the pretender met the earl of Mar at the earl of Marischall's chief seat at Feterillo, where they continued some days, and from thence published his declaration, which was dated the 25th of October at Commercry; and on the 6th of January he made a public entry into Dundee, with a retinue of about 300 horsemen, having Mar on his right, and Marischall on his left; on Sunday the 8th he arrived at Scoon, where he seemed resolved to stay till he was crowned, but which never happened.

On

1715

The pre-
tender
lands in
Scotland

Hist. Reg.
135.
His public
entries.

1715
11 Tind.
204.
He makes
a speech to
quicken
the resolu-
tions of
his
friends;

but re-
solves to
abandon
the enter-
prize.

The duke
marches
towards
Perth.

On the 9th he made his public entry into Perth, and having viewed the gar- rison, he returned to Scoon, where he fixed his council, and issued out several proclamations. On the 16th a grand council was held at Scoon, at which all the chiefs of the rebels were present, where he made a speech to quicken their resolutions, which was dispersed with great industry; but the council, notwithstanding, soon came to a resolution to abandon the whole enterprize, the first opportunity they should have to do it decently.

The duke of Argyle had, by this time been joined by the 6000 Dutch, whom the states of Holland had sent pursuant to their treaties; and having received a train of artillery, which he had expected; he broke up from Stirling on the 29th of January, and marched from thence to Dumblain, and so forwards towards Perth,

The

The pretender had notice of these motions, and was sensible of the difficulties he lay under, but it was necessary to conceal the resolution which had been taken in council from his own people, till the proper measures were concerted to have them all dispersed with safety. Had the resolution been made public, the common people would have been so dispirited as to have incapacitated themselves from the care of their safety; or perhaps they might have revenged upon their leaders, the danger into which they had been drawn. The resolution was therefore given out, to fight the king's troops, and all preparations were made for such an undertaking, as if they had really intended it.

The pretender, however, came from Scoon to Perth on the 30th, and that same morning, abandoned Perth with some precipitation, leaving his cannon and waggons behind, by which he got two days march of the duke; and on

11 Tind.
220.
The pre-
tender
makes his
escape,
and his
army
dispersed.

the 5th of February, while the duke with his cavalry and train was marching by the road of Breechen, and his infantry under general Cadogan by the way of Aberbrothoc, they received intelligence, that the pretender had made his escape the morning before, in a French ship, called the Maria Teresa, then lying in the road of Montrose.

Hist. Reg.
138.

Before he went, the pretender had ordered the clans to march about eight at night towards Aberdeen, where he assured them a considerable force would soon come to them from France. His horses were ordered to his door, and his guard, as usual, to go with them; but, at the same time, he privately slipped out on foot, accompanied only by one of his domestics, to the earl of Mar's lodgings, and from thence by a bye way to the water-side, where a boat waited, and carried him and Mar on board the Maria Teresa, which having also received on board the earl of Melfort, lord Drummond,

mond, and lieutenant-general Sheldon, and ten other gentlemen, put immediately to sea, and landed them between Gravelines and Calais.

The rebel army marched onwards for about three days through Strathspey and Strathdown to the hills of Badenoch; where they quietly dispersed, the common people mostly to their homes; and as to the officers and gentlemen, amounting to several hundred, they mostly escaped in several French vessels to Gottenburgh in Sweden.

Some of the clans retired into the highlands and western islands, where they were afterwards disarmed; some were taken by the king's troops, and others voluntarily surrendered themselves, and submitted to the king's mercy.

Thus the scattered sparks of the rebellion in Scotland were also extinguished; and though it seemed at first to threaten the entire subversion of our constitution, it was quelled in England in

87154

11 Tind.

230.

Reflection

1716. a few days, and in Scotland in a few months, to its more firm and lasting establishment, both in church and state.

11 Tind.
366.
The king's
speech,
that the
pretender
was moved
beyond
the Alps;

King George, in his speech to parliament on the 20th of February, acquainted them, that the pretender was actually moved beyond the Alps; and that his adherents were deprived of all hopes of support and countenance from France; and that even the assistance of that crown was stipulated to Great Britain in case of exigency, by a subsequent convention, to supply the defects in the treaty of Utrecht.

and that
there was
a project-
ed inva-
sion from
Sweden,

That he had ordered to be laid before his parliament copies of letters, which had passed between the Swedish ministers on that occasion, which contained a certain account of a projected invasion. He concluded, that he had an entire confidence in them, and had therefore nothing to ask, but, that they would take such measures as would best secure their religion and liberties. While they

pre-

preserved those inestimable blessings, he should sit easy and safe on his throne, having no other view but the happiness and prosperity of his people.

716.

The letters referred to in the above speech, passed between count Gyllen-
burg and the barons Gortz and Sparre and others, and related to a design of raising a rebellion in Great Britain, to be supported by an invasion from Sweden. By these letters it appeared, that a design was formed to dethrone king George, and conducted in such a manner, as almost to warrant success; artful papers were published to foment and increase discontent and division; the apparent tranquility, enjoyed in Great Britain, was to be an occasion of requiring and obtaining the reduction of the national, and dismissal of the foreign forces; ships, bought at different places, were to assemble, at Gottenburg, by the end of March, when the East winds usually blow, on board of which

11 Tind.
370.

eight thousand foot, and four thousand horse were to embark, with artillery, ammunition, and arms for fifteen thousand men. The great number of the disaffected had been so far relied on, that the secret of the negociation had been trusted in England, but to very few persons; nothing was transacted in writing; no treaty was made; the mutual concern for the success of the undertaking was, as it were, the warrant for the promises that were given.

The king of Sweden absolutely refused to appear in the affair, till the time of the execution; and the pretender's friends, with whom count Gyllenbourg treated at London, would not engage for any thing till they had his master's word; they did not care to labour in vain; but as soon as they should have the assurance of his assistance, money should not be wanting, nor means to support the affair. Upon this baron Gortz spoke out more plainly; and sent

a copy

a copy of his full powers which were unlimited; and it was visible they were so extensive, only because there might be no occasion to mention the affair, which was to be concealed from the ministers at Stockholm.

This assurance removed all uneasiness and irresolution; money was given; views were explained; means of subsisting the foreign troops were particularized; a person was procured, who was perfectly acquainted with the coasts, where it was resolved they should land; ships of war were provided, from sixty to seventy guns; merchant-men that were to carry corn to Gottenburg, were to serve for transports. The scheme was well laid, and the execution seemed infallible; especially if the army had been reduced, and the Dutch forces sent home. Twelve thousand chosen Swedes, in a condition to receive those that were to join them, would have quickly formed a powerful army; encouraged by

The great probability of succeeding from Sweden.

1716. such an army, the people would have risen on all sides; the highlanders would have all been in arms. The torrent would have been increased without ceasing, and a battle would have decided the affair. Thus much is certain, the project was infinitely better concerted than the last year's. The continual motions of the Swedish forces would have served to cover the true design, till it would have been too late to oppose it; a few days sufficed to convey them into Scotland or England. But a timely discovery confounded all these measures, and established king George on the throne.

The proposal, in 1712, for marrying the late king James's daughter to Charles the XIIth of Sweden for the like purposes, probably gave rise to this design, and the officers escape from the rebellion in 1715 to Gottenburg, was in aid of it.

The

The discovery was completed, by seizing the person and papers of count Gyllenbourg, the Swedish resident, on the 29th of January preceding. The securing the person and papers of a public minister being an affair of an extraordinary nature, and some foreign ministers having expressed their resentments of it at court, they were given to understand, that in a day or two they should be acquainted with the reasons for proceeding against the Swedish minister in such a manner. Accordingly, the secretaries of state wrote circular letters to the foreign ministers, which pretty well reconciled them to the proceedings of the court.

Not many days after baron Gortz, with his two secretaries, were also secured in Guelderland; and it is observable that baron Gortz when seized, acknowledged himself the projector of the intended invasion, and that he had actually provided ten thousand arms, and

3916.
11 Tind.
362.
Count
Gyllen-
bourg and
his papers
secured.

364.
Baron
Gortz
taken in
Guelder-
land.

1716. other necessaries for this service, valuing himself very much upon what he had done in this affair, as thinking it extremely for the interest of his master, and a noble and glorious enterprize.

1717.
Tind.
32.

However the whole affair was thus put an end to, and the king of Sweden having declared, he had no intentions to trouble the tranquility of Great Britain, nor had entered into any of the designs attributed to his ministers, and should consider, as a great injury to him, the suspicion of his having had any concern in their projects, baron Gortz and count Gyllenbourg were released.

The true
era of
English
liberty in
1716.

This decisive affair and the protestant succession in the house of Hanover, being guarantied by the convention of this year, explaining and establishing the peace of Utrecht, seem to have stamped upon themselves the true era of English liberty. From this era the rage of party became almost annihilated, and our excellent constitution became, for the

the first time, established and permanent.

1717

By the treaty with France and the states in 1716, the pretender was to depart immediately from Avignon, and go beyond the Alps; and was not to be suffered at any time to return thither or pass through the French territories, under pretence of going to Lorrain, or even to set his foot on any place within the dominions of France, much less to stay there on any pretence whatsoever. This was accompanied with the renewing of the promises made at Utrecht, of absolutely refusing protection to the pretender, and of not assisting him in any manner directly or indirectly. No refuge was to be given to the subjects of either party, who should be declared rebels. It was added, that the true design of this treaty being to strengthen the friendship established by the late treaties at Utrecht, the articles of those treaties, as far as they concerned the contradicting parties,

11 Tind.
355.

parties, were confirmed and ratified; particularly, that the succession to the crown of Great Britain, in the protestant line, and to the crown of France, in the family of Orleans, exclusive of the house of Anjou, should remain in full force. A mutual guarantee was also given for the performance of these, and all the other articles, and for the defence of the dominions possessed by the three powers at the time of signing the treaty. There was an article which very largely explained the succours each should give to support the succession.

3730.
11 Tindal
374.

Sweden also guarantied and maintained the succession of Great Britain in the house of Hanover; and that she would not give any protection, refuge, aid, or counsel in any manner whatsoever to the pretender.

THE

THE CONCLUSION.

WE have seen, by what has been set forth, the greatest variety of party differences that ever existed for so short a period among us, and we have felt their mischievous effects, and the miserable fatality attending revolutions of all kinds. In regard to the consequences of that most extraordinary one in 1648; though, after a course of twelve years, a restoration took place, yet very few years succeeded before the convulsions of the state broke out afresh; and, though the revolution of 1688 prepared us for a new succession and an improved constitution, the times continued alarming and fluctuating, and the administration divided and betrayed on all sides; and even the constitution, so much desired by us, remained broken and unsettled

settled till the peace of Utrecht was explained and confirmed in 1716, which has improved and established the constitution by new resolutions, and guaranteed the present royal family on the throne.

A scene
of near
four score
years
distress.

To sum up the distresses within the period, we have gone through we have found that from the civil war and its commencement in 1640 to the king's death in 1648, was one continued scene of confusion and distress, for

From 1648 to the restoration in 1660, which was during the military usurpation, the scene was not mended, for

From 1660 to the death of Charles the II^d, in 1684, was a period of anxiety with very short intervals, beginning with Venner's insurrection in the same year of 1660, and a conspiracy in 1662, and the first

first Dutch war which commenced
 in 1664; the plague in 1665; and
 the fire of London in 1666; the
 Dutch expedition up the Thames
 in 1667; the mischiefs created by
 the cabal begun in 1670; the duke's
 conversion in 1671; the second
 Dutch war, and shutting up the ex-
 chequer, in 1672; the popish plot
 took date from 1678, which con-
 tinued to the death of the king in
 1684 - - - - - 24

From 1684 to the revolution in
 1688, was one bigotted scene of
 despotism of - - - - - 4

From 1688 to the death of Wil-
 liam in 1702, was full of invasions,
 treacheries, and discontents - - 14

From 1702 till the protestant suc-
 cession, was guarantied by the ge-
 neral peace in 1716, plots and con-
 spiracies, invasions and treacheries
 among

among the greatest officers of the
state - - - - - 14

Total Years 76

Reflec-
tions
thereon.

Wherein shall we find, within the above mentioned seventy-six years, one year of solid satisfaction, of permanent tranquility, in church or state? How short-lived were the joys of the restoration? How perplexing the revolution in 1688? How dangerous the triumphs and ambition of Marlborough, the intrigues of St. Germain's, and our treachery at home? even our conquests were not our own, but were delusive in regard to our safety.

Wars are ever dangerous, and their events uncertain; while any of the Stuarts remained on the throne, our constitution remained insecure. The English wars with France during the reign of king William, and of queen Anne, have been made appear more peculiarly dangerous and uncertain from the incidental

dental connections with the late king James. They commenced at the Revolution, when the dethroned king threw himself into the arms of France. The incurable antipathies and animosities of William and Lewis, and of the several parties in England respectively against each other, gave great advantage to the restless ambition of Lewis; whose power and resources, during great part of the time above mentioned, were in their most flourishing state. Plots, conspiracies, and invasions, and other lurking mischiefs, arising from a pretender to the throne, were the natural consequences of James's connections with Lewis. They fretted and wore out the broken constitution of William, whose reign was one continued scene of vexations and disappointments in this kingdom.

The succession of queen Anne revived the hopes, and increased the connections of the pretender with his friends here; and, but for the continued successes of

Q

Marl-

Marlborough over Lewis, a restoration would most probably have taken place; and, perhaps, for our further punishment, without terms. We may also reasonably conclude, that in the midst of those constant successes of Marlborough, if his duchess had not fallen out with lady Masham, a new scene might have opened, and another revolution taken place.

I have already given, in page 173, an account of the duke's power and riches from Voltaire, and in a pamphlet styled, *The other Side of the Question*, page 324. in answer to the duchess's account of her conduct; it is remarked upon that subject, that ambition is boundless, and dominion followeth power; that a queen without issue upon the throne, a people rent into factions, and a mercenary army, at the beck of a general, victorious abroad and omnipotent at home, conspired to form such a crisis, as never had a precedent in our annals before; and which might be made

a basis for projects not to be thought of without horror. But the hands of Providence were over us, and, beyond our deserts, steered and conducted us through many perils and dangers into a well constructed harbour at last.

I can scarce prevail with myself to believe, there is now existing a whig or tory, such as they appear to have been in the reigns of king William and queen Anne. They have both been considered, in this narrative, as factious alike, neither of them appearing to have had any thing at heart but for their own private interest. I have therefore avoided their names wherever I decently could. The duke of Marlborough, in one of his letters to his duchess says, he will never flatter any party, let the consequence be what it will. For, as parties, they are both in the wrong. The party-diffusions of those times had very nearly destroyed that excellent constitution, which in the reigns of William and

The original parties of whig and tory extinguished.

Q 2

Mary,

Mary, the whigs and tories had jointly set up.

The rapid
encrease
of wealth
and pow-
er.

The conduct of the present line of our kings has been, during three successions, exemplary for their moderation and great attention to business. Arts, manufactures, trade, navigation, extension of property, and improvements of every kind have encreased, within their time, with wonderful rapidity, and our constitution became thereby more fixed and permanent.

The evils
attending
peace and
plenty.

In the best of constitutions, and under the best of governments, peace and plenty will produce luxury, pride, dissipation, and licentiousness; and party-dissensions, wherever they intrude, will take the upper hand of good-fellowship; under these marks has lately encreased among us a distemper, which has heretofore baffled many of the best of our political physicians, called republicanism.

Our

Our party-differences, which are degraded by the names of whig and tory, seem to encrease from that distemper, and which, from too recent experience, we ought naturally to abhor. Very few, I hope and believe, knowingly, range themselves under the portentous banner of republicanism in this country; nor could the more considerable part of them, if they knew it, work their way towards that anarchy we have once fallen into, and so wonderfully escaped from. These must have their æra of reformation; and as the utmost extension of human prudence had been inadequate to the attainment of such a reformation in times past; and as the French have of old time been accustomed first to *trouble* our waters, and then to *fish* in them, and to all appearance are doing so now; it becomes more and more alarming, and requires the most serious attention and consideration, not only of

The present dissensions arise from republicanism,

and the intrigues of the French.

the public in general, but of each individual in particular.

The revolutions of 1688 happy in its consequences,

In the narrative before us, it has not been my design to enter into the causes of revolutions, or the distinct rights of king or people, but to shew the dangerous consequences generally attendant on every change of government. The revolution of 1688, I would not be thought to disapprove of; it became necessary; and we look upon it, at this distance of time, with that satisfaction which we ought, when we consider that our present happy establishment has been the event; but neither king nor people were satisfied, while king William lived; and I hope I have set forth sufficient to demonstrate the difficulties and dangers we escaped from, during that æra of intestine divisions, to discountenance almost every revolution for the future. It may and ought to teach us to be extremely cautious, from what has been felt

but an instructive lesson to discourage the like again.

felt and feared, how we involve ourselves and our country in the same misfortune again, especially as we have not the shadow of an excuse for such a conduct.

It must be the wish of every true Englishman, that there was no reason, at this time for the above caution. But so many late publications of speeches and political sentiments, avowed both publicly and privately, plainly show that a republican spirit is attempted, by every artifice of florid elocution, and false reasoning, to be spread and established among the people. This is done by making use of a deception, which has often been employed with success in some other matters. The whole art consists in attempting to confound our ideas of things, by giving them wrong names. Thus, when they use the word, *liberty*, we shall find, if we attend to the context, that they mean the most unbound-

The deceitful attempts to recommend republicanism.

ed *licentiousness*; and that by the words, *rights of mankind*, they mean the *rights* of being *free* from all *legal* restraint, by the annihilation of all law, government, and subordination in the state. Such a state of affairs would be immediately followed by the worst of all tyrannies, that of the populace; for there is no tyranny so bad as that of *ignorance armed with power*. That *equality* amongst the individuals of a nation, in favour of which so much has been written of late, never did, nor possibly could exist half an hour together in *any* state. There must, in the nature of things, be the *governors* and the *governed*; the sole question therefore must be, whether we choose to be governed by the laws of the best and mildest constitution upon earth, or by the passions of men when freed from the restraints of *all* laws? Such a state of anarchy was never known to be of any long duration. Some one factious

The ill
consequences it
would
produce.

faction leader of these sons of *liberty*, more enterprising and fortunate than the rest, seizes the tyranny, and establishes a despotic power in his own person. Deploable as this state is, *one tyrant* is a less evil than ten thousand.

With regard to those wise and political gentlemen, who, with their usual *disinterestedness* and *patriotism*, have in reality nothing farther in view, by their conduct, than to compel their sovereign to change the great officers of state; it may not be unworthy their consideration, whether the means sometimes employed for that purpose may not lead to consequences far beyond their intention; and whether their own rank and consequence in their country may not depend entirely on the preservation of order and subordination in the several parts of the state, without which there can be no such thing as rank; which would be a word without any meaning, unless we

Advice to
those who
would
confound
all ranks.

pre-

presuppose some kind of subordination, by which it subsists, and of which it forms so essential a part.

To prove that such a change in the state would probably be the consequences, if the views of some distinguished persons were to take place, we need only refer to the history of the last century, in which we shall find that all rank was attempted to be annihilated, and a certain *great assembly* voted *useless*.

The excesses of individuals advantageous to the French.

Before I leave my readers, I submit it to them, that the many dangerous incidents which have happened within this short period of English history have been encreased by the confusion of the actors behind the scenes, who, having deviated from what is right, have, to extricate themselves, proceeded from bad measures to worse. The consequences of such measures have always given the French inconceivable advantages over us; though our natural situation and dispositions

positions will ever disappoint them while we hold together, or can resolve within ourselves to be, at least, as jealous of such faithless neighbours as we are of one another.

The French, by their late impolitic and perfidious treaty with our colonists as independents, will teach their own colonists to preach up the same independency; and the Spaniards, notwithstanding their family compact, must be very blind indeed not to look at home upon this occasion.

Bad policy
of the
French in
acknow-
ledging
independ-
dancy.

A French overheated imagination may too readily flatter itself with the hopes, that such a treaty may reduce us to the same miseries that Voltaire has attributed to the detested policy and passions of cardinal Richelieu, respecting the troublesome times we have gone through.

It is reported, but with what truth I know not, that at the treaty of Paris after the last war, France for a long time
made

Morning
Post, 1
April,
1772.

Their in-
fiduous
character.]

made it an express stipulation that Canada should be ceded to her, and threatened to break up the treaty if that point was not granted; the duke of Bedford as peremptorily refusing it, the French minister at last gave it up, but with emphatic prediction. "Well, Sir, your master shall keep Canada; but, mark my words, he will sorely repent it."

This anecdote, if true, will shew the infidious character of the French, which is better told from the mouth of cardinal Richelieu in page 15 of this book.

Such words ought not to be forgot by us, no more than the deeds of Englishmen, who will still be Englishmen when roused from their lethargy; the which our perfidious neighbours have heretofore experienced; and they will, I hope and believe, soon experience it again upon the *present occasion*.

a Thickn.
126.

Mr. Thicknesse asserts, in his Twelve Months Tour, (in which assertion all great tra-

travellers are agreed) that it is in England alone where an innocent and virtuous man can sit down and enjoy the blessings of liberty, and his own chearful hearth in full confidence, that no earthly power can disturb it; and the best reason which can be offered in favour of Englishmen visiting other kingdoms is, adds he, to enable them upon their return to know how to enjoy the inestimable blessings of their own.

Can there be a person amongst us, knowing these matters, disposed to betray his country to such neighbours? Or can he, even in the rage of party, submit to see the French triumph over our follies, and put an end to all liberty and property among us?

If there can be such a wretch, may the least of his punishment be, to see his country still *free, glorious, and triumphant.*

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 least of his punishment be, to let his
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F I N I S.

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Yours truly,
J. Edgar Hoover

This image shows a blank, aged, light gray page, likely an endpaper or flyleaf from an old book. The paper has a visible texture and is covered with numerous small, dark specks and dust particles. There are also some faint, larger stains and discolorations, particularly towards the bottom and left edges. The overall appearance is that of a well-preserved but old piece of paper.

